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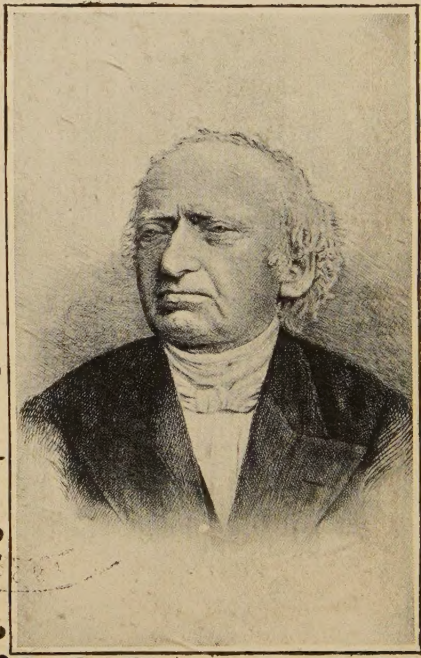

JEWISH ARTISAN LIFE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST

By

FRANZ DELITZSCH

With Frontispiece Portrait of the Author

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FRANZ DELITZSCH

A new translation of whose *Jüdisches Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu. Fünf Vorträge im Leipziger Jünglingsverein gehalten im Winter*, 1867-8. is here printed, was born at Leipzig on February 23, 1813. Out of the wealth of his contributions to Biblical literature, the following lectures have been chosen as complete in themselves, and as providing a brief commentary on the life of the time, based upon wide reading and vast learning.

The translation has been made expressly for the purposes of this edition, and advantage has been taken of the second revised edition, Erlangen, 1875. The notes at the foot of the page are the author's. A brief Appendix has been added at the end of the volume.

A. R. W.

The portrait of Delitzsch, which forms the frontispiece to this volume, is reproduced from an etching by H. Manesse, by kind permission of Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton.

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JEWISH ARTISAN LIFE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST

I

THE RULE OF THE HERODS AND THE SECOND TEMPLE IN RELATION TO HANDICRAFT

When Jesus entered the Synagogue of Nazareth one Sabbath day, and the men and women of the little country town in which He had grown to manhood at last saw with their own eyes the wonder-working Prophet of Galilee, the mystery grew but the more mysterious, and, more confused in their minds than touched in their hearts, they looked at one another and asked, "Is not this the carpenter's son?" "Is not this the carpenter?"[1] This question asked by the Nazarenes justifies the task I have set before me. Handicraft is inseparably connected with the life of Christ. For the present we may set aside the question, whether He could with as much reason be called the carpenter, as the carpenter's son; but be this as it may, all artisans must feel the high honour done to their calling, in that He was the lawful though not the actual son of a carpenter and has Himself been called the carpenter. What are all the royal and imperial charters that the guilds and corporations boast compared with this one fact? There is no higher honour for handicraft than this, that Jesus came of an artisan family, and even if He was not Himself an artisan, that He helped others at

[1] Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3.

their craft. This has made handicraft holy; it has given it a patent of nobility beyond that of the world.

I am addressing an audience of young artisans, and I may take it for granted that there is not one among them who does not daily bow the knee in the Name of Jesus. For this very reason I might be afraid that my choice of such a subject would not only flatter an unjustifiable pride in your profession, but also shock your feelings as Christians. Yet of this I am not afraid. You know that the Christ whom we worship is the risen Lord. In that glory which is the reward of His voluntary humiliation, He is raised infinitely above the earthly conditions into which He entered and through which He passed. When we consider first the state of His self-abasement and then that of His risen glory, only false shame and a delicacy quite out of place could hinder us from taking this question asked by the Nazarenes as the beginning and end of our attempt to survey Christ's relations with handicraft in connection with the history of His time. Is it our opinion that by this means the essence of the character and the actions of Christ will become clearer to us? Shall we contribute another chapter to the novels dealing with the life of Christ, that are now so popular? By no means: for thirty years I have studied the history and literature of the people from whom Jesus came, only to convince myself the more that what He was, what He became for the world, cannot be explained and grasped by the help of contemporary history and social conditions. No matter how vividly we present to ourselves the circumstances of His times and the state of His country, He is a mysterious figure moving amid these temporalities, His image stands out incomparable in its sublimity from the background of His time. And yet it is well worth the trouble fully to realise the scene, the land, the surroundings through which the divine Son of Man passed, to whom we all, young and old, learned and unlearned, owe the salvation of our souls.

But is the task which we have placed before us possible? I know of no artisans mentioned in the New Testament beyond Joseph the carpenter, Simon the tanner, and Paul, Aquila and Priscilla the apostolic family of tent-makers.[1] You will perhaps remind me of Alexander the coppersmith of Ephesus, who under cloak of Christianity intrigued against Paul,[2] and of Demetrius the silversmith in the same town, who feared to lose through Paul's preaching the sources of profit coming to him from the manufacture of small models of the celebrated Temple of Diana;[3] or of Lydia the seller of purple at Philippi,[4] who probably sold trimmings of bright colours, especially crimson, for true purple was in these days beyond the means of the middle classes. But we are not here concerned with Alexander, Demetrius, or Lydia, since we wish to consider the conditions and status of handicraft as it was in the time of Christ and in His country. Had we only the New Testament we should be forced to renounce the complete solution of our problem; contemporary views of handicraft are reflected there, but it contains no vivid pictures of artisan life. But we have other sources, first and foremost the historian Josephus, the contemporary of Christ, who described as an eye-witness the war with Rome and the fall of Judæa, and also treated of the antiquities of his nation; and beside him the Talmud, the great motley collection of laws regulating the ceremonial of Jewish life; and the Midraschim, the many voluminous collections of aphorisms in the form of commentaries to the different books of the Old Testament, which date back as far as the first centuries after Christ. Both these latter, the Talmud and the Midraschim, contain many historical elements, but in all these works the material needed for our task lies scattered in confusion. We will gather up these disconnected proverbs and stories of artisans like the stones of a mosaic and fit them together

[1] Acts xviii. 2-3. [2] 2 Tim. iv. 14. [3] Acts xix. 23 *ff.* [4] Acts xvi. 14.

to form a whole, and in consideration of the stability of custom and condition in the East and in Palestine we may allow ourselves here and there to overstep the bounds of the time of our Lord.

Let us begin with considering the condition of Palestine under the Herods with regard to the handicrafts.

The patriotism of the priestly family of the Maccabees, courageous unto death, had freed the Jewish nation from the tyranny of the Syrian Seleucidæ, who had attempted to force on them the worship of the heathen king of gods, Jupiter Olympus, instead of the God of Israel. No one had a better right to the throne, to which no heir of David's race laid claim, than this priestly family, from which sprang a new royal house that reigned over Israel for more than a hundred years and made it once more a free, wealthy, and respected nation. But power, prosperity, and consequence are more likely to debase than to ennoble. The victorious royal race lost, only too soon, that nobility of mind by means of which it had founded its hereditary nobility. Its piety succumbed to the passions, caprices, and cruelties of dynastic intrigue, and family quarrels at last let slip the sovereignty into the hands of an Idumæan house, which began to play a part in the public affairs of the Jewish nation when King Alexander-Jannæus and his consort Alexandra, who acted as regent for nine years, appointed the Idumæan Antipater governor of the conquered province of Idumæa. This same Antipater, in the war that broke out after the death of Alexandra between her sons Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, fought on the side of the latter, the elder of the two brothers. But he was only seeking his own ends. With the money of Hyrcanus he bought himself the favour of Rome, and his son Herod, then twenty-five years old, whom he had nominated Governor of Galilee, soon put Hyrcanus in the shade by his activity. Hyrcanus observed nothing of this and would not be warned; he was too honest, too weak and too short-sighted to perceive

what a serpent he had warmed in his bosom in the shape of this Herod, who grew ever bolder and more powerful. The end was that Herod, in 39 B.C., was proclaimed King of the Jews by the Roman Senate at the instance of Antonius. Antonius, too, bribed by Herod, executed the Maccabæan prince Antigonus, and from this time Herod maintained the sovereignty, which he had so cunningly and boldly won, by gradually putting out of the way the remaining scions of the royal family of the Maccabees, and through lies and flattery keeping the favour of the Roman suzerains.

When the Son of David, who was to contrast with the brilliant misery of this tyrannical government His own heavenly kingdom, was born at Bethlehem, Herod had but six years of the thirty-seven of his reign left to live. The tyrant's suspicions were constantly growing. The murders of his latter years cry to heaven, and are so frequent that we cannot be surprised if in comparison with them the insignificant slaughter of the children at Bethlehem is only mentioned in its connection with Gospel history. But we are not here concerned with these horrible scenes—we must not forget that we wish to describe the artisan life of the time.

Many conditions for comfortable and flourishing well-being among the artisans were lacking in Herod's reign. Politically it was a critical period; Herod was certainly victorious against all the neighbouring peoples, but it was constantly questionable whether he would be able to keep his throne in Rome's despite, and he believed that he could only assure his life and his supremacy against his nearest relatives by murder after murder. And so to the Romans he played the part of boundless gratitude, and to many foreign towns that of inexhaustible bounty, using for the satisfaction of his ambition enormous sums, most of which he extorted from his subjects. He did not attempt to conceal that he considered himself more a Greek than a Jew, and lavished far greater sums for the erection of

magnificent buildings in foreign states than for those in his own kingdom. And yet there also he raised buildings which rivalled those of Egypt—Cæsarea with its harbour and the Temple at Jerusalem were miracles of architecture. When he planned the reconstruction of the Temple the people feared that he would pull down what remained without rebuilding. He therefore first made ready everything that was needed for the rebuilding before beginning the work. He procured 1000 waggons to bring the stones, selected 10,000 of the most experienced master builders, and by presents of new vestments induced 1000 priests to be trained, some as masons, some as carpenters. In many other parts of the country chisel and axe were set to work to beautify old buildings and call up new ones as if by enchantment, sometimes, as with the town of Phasælis, named after a brother of his, in desolate regions which thus received a great impulse to industry. That section of the people that remained true to the law of their fathers, watched with sorrow this transformation of the country to heathen splendour, this lavish expenditure of the nation's money; but a large party among the burgesses stood on the king's side because he put means of earning money in their way, and at the same time flattered their worldly national pride. During the famine which occurred in the thirtieth year of his reign he won at one stroke the love of his whole people, though he was not destined to keep it: he had the gold and silver in his palace melted down in order to buy corn in Egypt; appointed bakers for those who could not bake the flour which fell to their share, and helped the sufferers in all kinds of ways. But even when he showed himself generous, or when he decreased the burdens of taxation, he betrayed only too plainly his selfish ends. He was not actuated by a real love for his people, for he surpassed what he did for them by still more lavish gifts to foreign states—for instance, for the revival of the Olympian sports. It seemed incomprehensible how he could contrive to be

so endlessly rich soon after he had seemed to be a bankrupt. But Palestine had in those days an incredibly large population able to pay taxes. Josephus says of Galilee, the northern province, "It is all cultivated by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies idle. Moreover, the cities lie here very thick; and the very many villages there are here, are everywhere so full of people, by the richness of their soil, that the very least of them contain above fifteen thousand inhabitants."[1] Elsewhere he speaks of no less than 204 Galilean towns and villages.[2] The land of Israel, says the Talmud,[3] is not without reason called beautiful as a gazelle; when it is inhabited it stretches like the skin of a gazelle, when it is not inhabited it shrinks up. And indeed the boundaries of the Holy Land must have been as elastic as the skin of a gazelle, which, thin as it may be, is very hard to tear.

When Herod felt his end drawing near he had the most important among the Jews locked into the hippodrome, and gave orders to shoot them down with arrows as soon as he had drawn his last breath, so that sorrow and mourning might follow on his death, whether it were for his own sake or no. When his son Archelaus, subject to the imperial sanction, ascended the throne, he was greeted with clamours for diminution of the taxes, for the release of prisoners, and abolition of the high excise duties with which his father had hampered commerce. Against his will he became involved but too soon in bloody feuds with the people, whose repressed fury now broke out. The whole family of the Herods then went to Rome, and in the Temple of Apollo the Emperor Augustus divided the land between Archelaus, Philip, and Herod Antipas, the three sons of his faithful vassal. It was during the rule of Archelaus over Judæa that the Holy Family after

[1] "Wars of the Jews," iii. 3, 2.

[2] "Life of Flavius Josephus," § 45. Whiston's translation, London, 1857, gives 240. (Trans.)

[3] J (Jerusalem Talmud) Taanith 69 *a* of the Venetian edition; B (Babylonian Talmud) Gittin 57 *a*; *cf.* Kethuboth 112 *a*.

their return from Egypt hesitated to settle in Bethlehem. It was Herod Antipas who presented his stepdaughter Salome, the beautiful dancer, with the head of John the Baptist. It was Philip after whom the town at the sources of Jordan was named Cæsarea Philippi, and who raised the village of Bethsaida on the left bank of the Jordan to the dignity of a town under the name of Julias by inducing many to immigrate and endowing the municipality. Archelaus made himself a name by building Archelais near the Jordan, and beautified Jericho a few miles farther south by the restoration of the royal palace that had been burnt down, and by a plantation of palms irrigated by a conduit. Antipas took no less pleasure in building. Under his rule Sepphoris rose from its ruins as one of the strongest and most beautiful of mountain fortresses, and opposite Jericho, on the farther side of the Jordan, Beth-Haran was rebuilt in the Roman style, and named Livias Julias in honour of the wife of the Emperor Augustus. The most memorable of these buildings, however, is Tiberias on Gennesaret, "the lake of the princes' gardens." This town was named after the Emperor Tiberius, and is mentioned three times in the gospel of John; to it in chief we owe the faithful preservation of the text of the Old Testament. It was in part built over graveyards, which prevented the stricter Jews from settling there, but the Tetrarch contrived by force and by the attraction of especial privileges to procure a population for it. Much the same thing happened at the royal residence of Cæsarea on Mount Hermon built by Philip the Tetrarch; Paneas, the site of the new town, was notorious for the worship of idols. This same Philip, who changed Bethsaida from a village into the town of Julias and there built his family vault, was the best of the three Herods, a simple, straightforward, peaceable man, who had the good fortune to end his life in peace after a reign of thirty-seven years. He left no children. His wife was that Salome whose mother Herodias deserted

her husband in Rome to fly to the arms of his more distinguished brother, Herod Antipas. Herodias, by no means satisfied with being the wife of a Tetrarch, wished to be queen, and by her vanity pushed matters so far that she and her husband were exiled to Lugdunum (Lyons) in Gaul. In Gaul, too, Archelaus, who thirty years before had been banished to Vienne by the emperor because of the complaints made against him, sank into oblivion. So for some time the provinces formerly ruled by the three brothers fell under Roman sway, and one of the procurators of Judæa after the deposition of Archelaus was Pontius Pilate. But once again Palestine became a united kingdom, as it was under Herod the Great, when his grandchild Herod Agrippa received the tetrarchies of Philip and Antipas from the Emperor Caligula, and later on the rest of the country from the Emperor Claudius. When in the year 44 he died suddenly at Cæsarea, his son Agrippa was still a minor. The land was again placed under the rule of procurators. But through the favour of Claudius and his successors, Agrippa II. was became king over an ever-increasing portion of the northern district and of the land east of Jordan. During the struggle for national freedom he remained servilely faithful to Rome, and died in the year 100, a childless man without heirs. The rule of the Herods ended with these two Agrippas in a way that somewhat compensated the people for all their sufferings.

Agrippa I. had led a prodigal and dissipated life for fifty years, but during the three years of his reign as a king he became pharisaically pious, and made it a point of honour to observe the Mosaic Law as strictly as any other Jew, yet he could not quite renounce the heathen tendencies common to all the Herods. He lavished millions on the magnificent decorations of the town of Berytos—theatre, amphitheatre, colonnades, baths, statues, and pictures. And although on the occasion of the annual spectacles there he distributed corn and oil among the people, it was

seen with disfavour that he should so boundlessly distintinguish a Gentile city. On the other hand, he ordered the golden chain which Caligula had given him in place of the irons worn in the Roman prisons, to be hung over the treasury of the Temple, and according to Josephus no day passed without his offering sacrifice. The Talmud praises him as the ideal king over Israel. We often hear there of his discoursing with the chief Pharisees. It is related that he carried his basket with the first-fruits on his own shoulders up the hill to the Temple,[1] and that when in the year following a year of jubilee, according to ancient custom, he read aloud from a stage erected in the Temple that part of Deuteronomy concerning the king, tears ran down his face at the words: "One from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother."[2] Whereupon those that stood round him were touched and cried, "Be not troubled, Agrippa, thou art our brother, thou art our brother!"[3] This was the Herod who beheaded James the son of Zebedee, and when he saw that this pleased the Jews, imprisoned Peter also. He died suddenly in an assembly of the people, where he appeared in a wonderful robe all made of silver and allowed his flatterers to worship him as a god. Handicraft prospered in his days. He at least did not throw away the means at his disposal in distant countries. He knew the temper and feelings of the artisan and tradesman, for before his prosperity the intercession of his sister Herodias with her husband had obtained for him the post of Agoranome (controller of the market) in Tiberias. His son, Agrippa II.,

[1] Biccurim iii. 4. [2] Deut. xvii. 15.

[3] Sota vii. 8 (*cf.* Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 295). The Gemara of both Talmuds observes that this obsequiousness was punished by dire and bloody consequences. Compare Tosaphoth Pesachim 107 *b*; it is certainly possible that the Talmud refers not to Agrippa I. but, as Hitzig and Braun aver, to Agrippa II. But as the latter proved consistently unpatriotic throughout the years of the revolution and the war, this is improbable.

was a weaker copy of himself. He also played the part of a pietist, but with less fanaticism. It was he and his sister Berenice, to whom he was bound by quite other than brotherly ties of affection, who summoned the apostle Paul before him, being curious to see him. The magnificent building materials which he had had sent from Lebanon to continue the enlargement of the Temple, could not be put to use on account of the outbreak of the Roman war. But he had already shown at the completion of the Temple, when thousands of workmen were thrown out of work, that he did not like to see them idle and starving: he continued to employ them, and had Jerusalem paved with white marble.

The most fortunate of the artisans in the times of the Herods were those engaged in building the Temple, from 20 B.C. until about ten years before the fall of Jerusalem. There were more than 18,000 workmen. The work was contracted for by the cubit, and finished according to a somewhat larger scale of cubit, so as to avoid even the least appearance of peculation in sacred matters.[1] The workmen did not suffer by this arrangement, for their wages were high. They were paid not weekly but daily, and those only working one hour a day received their wage at once. Those employed were not only architects, stonecutters, masons, and carpenters. The wall which surrounded both the forecourts of the Temple was forty cubits high, and contained nine lofty portals, eight of which were furnished with gilded or silvered folding doors, while the one towards the east had folding doors of Corinthian bronze still more richly decorated. This was called the Nikanorgate, or the Beautiful Gate.[2] Inside, the Temple was richly ornamented with gold and silver, both in its hangings and its massive goldsmiths' work. The whole of the Temple itself shone with the fiery glow of the plates of gold inlaying the walls on all sides, or, where it was not gilded, with the dazzling white of its

[1] Kelim xvii. 9. [2] Acts iii. 2.

spotless marble: the roof was covered with a gold interlacing which we should take for lightning-conductors, but which was meant to keep away the birds.[1] No iron was used inside the building, and the altar for burnt-offerings was even built without the help of iron tools, for "that which shortens life must not be raised over that which prolongs it.[2] The painter's brush was not employed in the decoration of the Temple, but the sculptor's chisel seems to have fashioned in the gable of the eastern gate a bas-relief of Susa, the capital of Persia. All the more employment was given to skilled workers in gold, silver, and copper, and also to weavers, netters, and robemakers, to make the curtains which closed off the holy places, and the garments of the priests. The curtain of the Holy of Holies was, according to the description of the assistant high-priest Simon who had seen it, woven of seventy-two cords;[3] each cord contained twenty-four threads, six violet, six purple, six scarlet, and six fine white cotton.[4] These were the four symbolic sacred colours. When Jesus uttered the mysterious words, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up," the Temple of Jerusalem had been building for forty-six years. It was a magnificent monument to the high state of art in the various handicrafts of Palestine.

Several crafts even retained their workshops in the Temple. The symbolic sacrifice of beasts, to which Jesus Christ's sacrifice of Himself put an end, caused butchery to be conducted on a large scale. The priests chosen for that office each day by lot always carried out the work of killing, disembowelling, and jointing, which was regulated by law down to the smallest details. The slaughter-house stood to the north of the altar; it contained eight short stone columns surmounted by square cedar-wood planks; each plank had three rows of hooks from which to hang

[1] Middoth v. 6. [2] Ibid. iii. 4. [3] Schekalim viii. 5.
[4] Joma 71 *b* of the Babylonian Talmud. Wherever no J. (Jerusalem Talmud) precedes a quotation, the Babylonian Talmud is meant.

large and small carcasses, and between the columns stood marble tables on which these carcasses were flayed.[1] The Temple had also its private bakehouse. There was a special chamber where every morning the meat-offering for the high-priest was baked, and a special chamber for the preparation of showbread. There were excellent confectioners and perfumers. The office of making showbread was hereditary in a family called Garmu, and that of making incense in a family called Abtinas; no one could equal either of these families at such work. The Alexandrians who competed with them could not produce a pillar of smoke that rose so straight.[2] Altogether the Alexandrians who were employed did not prove equal to expectation. When Alexandrian workmen repaired the brazen cymbal of the Temple, their work had to be undone again in order to restore its beautiful tone. When they mended the bronze mortar in which the spices were pounded for incense and which had cracked, this, too, as the story runs, had to be mended again before it was possible to obtain as aromatic a blending as before.[3] And so native industry prevailed. One of its masterpieces was an organ with a hundred different notes, not a water-organ (Hydraulis), but a wind-organ with pipes, whose powerful tone was said to resound as far as Jericho.[4] There was a special inspector of the waterworks and fountains, and a doctor, specialist in abdominal complaints, who had no small practice, since the priests were obliged always to walk barefoot, even on the stone pavements; besides a controller of the wells, a keeper of the robes, a lamp trimmer, a superintendent of the curtains (*i.e.* of the weavers who kept these in repair[5] and of the women who helped them).[6] Masters and journeymen of the most various trades worked there and were paid by

[1] Tamid iii. 5. [2] Joma 83 *a*. [3] Erachin x. 6.
[4] Ibid. 10 *b*, 11 *a*; Tamid iii. 8; *cf.* the picture in Saalschütz' *Archäologie*.
[5] Schekalim v. 1. [6] Kethuboth 106 *a*.

the Temple treasury. This Temple was, as is said in Hebrews ix. 1, "a worldly sanctuary," it was a little world in itself—a large butcher's shop, a large kitchen, a large bakehouse. That wonderful word concerning the worship of God in spirit and in truth that has illuminated the world had but to be spoken to make the restoration of such a worship, once it had fallen into disuse, impossible for all eternity.

II

CONTEMPORARY VIEWS OF WORK AND HANDICRAFT IN GENERAL

BEFORE we go any further, let us make ourselves acquainted with the everyday opinions of the public at the time of Christ, concerning labour and handicraft. For this purpose the New Testament is one of our chief sources. We will start by considering the profound and far-reaching movement brought on by Christianity in England since the end of the year 1867.

A Jewish savant on the staff of the British Museum, one Emmanuel Deutsch, published an essay in the *Quarterly Review* in which he attempted to prove that the difference between Judaism and Christianity was not nearly so great as had been supposed, since the adages, parables, and axioms of the New Testament are most of them to be found in the Talmud, and so cannot be regarded as originally belonging to Christianity. The impression produced by this brilliant essay was the more marked since the author might have been taken for a Christian. Speaking of the scene in which Judas betrays Christ to the officers of the chief priests, coming to Him with a kiss and a "Hail, master!" this Jewish writer calls Christ "our Saviour"; he hides behind the mask of Christianity. It would be easy to prove that the essence of Christianity consists not in moral teaching but in the act of salvation, and before all in the fact that Jesus is that servant of God, whom the Lord had promised by the mouth of the prophet of the Old Testament to be a covenant of the people and a light of the Gentiles;[1] that

[1] Isaiah xlii. 6; xlix. 8.

is to say, the mediator of a new covenant, starting from the people of Israel and compassing the whole world. But since in these papers we are concerned with artisan life in the time of Christ, Mr. Deutsch when pressed by our arguments might justly answer us with "Shoemaker, stick to your last!" Therefore we will give an example of the dust he throws in the eyes of his English readers taken from the subject of Handicraft.

"Didst thou ever see in all thy life," says Rabbi Simeon, son of Elazar, in the Talmud,[2] "a bird or an animal working at a craft? And yet these creatures, made simply for the purpose of serving me, gain their living without difficulty. But I am created to serve my creator; and if those who are created to serve me can gain their livelihood without difficulty, shall not I who am made to serve my creator, earn my living without trouble? It is assuredly only by evil courses that I lose my means of support." This reminds us irresistibly of the words of Christ, "Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns: yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?"

Mr. Deutsch draws a great number of such parallels, but he deceives himself and others with them because he cannot appreciate the difference in the passages compared, nor does he keep account of the difference in their dates. When did this Simeon, son of Elazar, live? In the time of the Emperor Hadrian,[2] at least a whole century later than Jesus. We will not assert on this account that he quotes directly from the gospel of Matthew, which was circulated in a Hebrew version, nor that he quotes indirectly from Christian tradition; but if there be an actual relationship between these passages it is evident here, as in most other cases, that Christ's is the original saying and Simeon's the copy. We have said in *most*

[1] Kidduschin iv. 14.
[2] Seder ha-Doreth (Zolkiew edition), 73 *a*.

other cases, we might almost say in *all* other cases; for except Hillel, about whom I have written elsewhere, all the Talmudic teachers, whose sayings touch on those of the New Testament, belong to a much later date than Christ and the documents of Christianity.

However, we willingly admit that the whole of Christianity might easily be patched together out of the Talmud, if it merely consisted of such moral sentences as the admonition to trust in God and act uprightly; but it must needs be an exegesis of milk and water that would bring down the New Testament to the level of such vague moral maxims, and, to use Kirkegaard's expression, why should Divine wisdom take human shape in order to utter trivialities?

The Jewish people have always been laborious, and second to none in the energy, power, and inventiveness which go to make up a restless activity. Up to the time of the dissolution of their national independence, agriculture and handicraft were their chief occupations; only later, in consequence of their dispersion and the narrow limits prescribed for their activity, they became a people of traders and usurers which took the place of the old Phœnicians. "The God of the Jews," Cicero is reported to have said, "must be a little God, since He has given His people so small a land."[1] Yet this small country, only about 150 miles long by 95 broad, was for centuries, by the co-operation of Divine Providence[2] and human industry, an earthly paradise. Its present condition is but the burnt-out ashes of former times. Terrace cultivation was carried on almost to the tops of the mountains, and rocky ground was made fruitful by coatings of good soil. The Mosaic Law, by its wise regulations, did much to further and assure the progress

[1] *Cf.* von Raumer's *Palästina*, 4th edition, p. 25. But where is this remark of Cicero's to be found? The speech pro Flacco, c. xxviii., however, contains something similar.

[2] *Cf.* Deut. xi. 12.

of agriculture; it also helped on the production of wine and oil. The Song of Solomon depicts gardening in all its perfection. Iron and copper were smelted, not only from ores lying on the surface, but in all probability also from those obtained by mining. Some of the iron mines to the east of Jordan, called in Syria the "Rose-mines," were reopened by Ibrahim Pacha from 1835 to 1839; but the reversion of Syria to Turkey, in 1840, put a speedy end to the new mining industry. Egypt had become for Israel a school of arts and crafts, whose influence lasted to a late period. Even in the time of the kings before the captivity we read of the most varied trades developed into separate callings. There are different words for blacksmith and locksmith, carpenter and mason. We find fullers and potters residing in separate quarters, and even the profession of the barber had come into being.[1]

In the first years of the Christian era, which here concern us, handicrafts were so much developed, and held in such esteem, that many towns were celebrated for skill and success in some one branch. For instance, Arbel for its ropemaking; and the villages of Kefar, Chananja, and Sichin, for their earthenware. Some were even named after their trades, like Dyers' Magdala (Migdal zab'ajja).[2] The Jews were in those days anything but a nation of mere buyers and sellers, though, of course, we are not now speaking of the necessary trade within the country to provide the means of subsistence. As we read in the Book of Nehemiah, there was a food-market in Jerusalem, to which came not only the peasants of the neighbouring district with their farm produce, but Tyrians also with fish and other wares. Agriculture and handicraft cannot exist without mutual relations of buying and selling, and so the high-priest, on the day of Atonement, in the short prayer offered after he had

[1] Ezek. v. 1.

[2] *Cf.* Midrasch i. 18; J. Taanith iv. 5; B. Mezia 74 *a* and *passim*.

returned from the Holy of Holies to the Holy Place, prayed among other things for "a year of trade and traffic."[1] The fact that Jesus found in the Temple tables of money-changers, who, for a premium, changed common for sacred currency, and the stands of the dove-sellers, of whom poor people, who could not afford to sacrifice cattle, bought birds, does not betray any specially commercial instincts on the part of the Jews. These were branches of trade closely allied to the worship in the Temple, but which, by their rapid growth in an unsuitable place, had lowered the dignity of the outer court, turning it into a noisy market-place. At the top of the Mount of Olives also we hear that there were booths, beneath a cedar thronged by doves, where ceremonially clean meat and the like were sold. These "booths of Bethany"[2] did not rouse Christ's indignation. Nowhere does the Jewish people, from the earliest times to the first century of the Christian era, and indeed for about five hundred years later, show any especial preference for those branches of trade which deal in work furnished by others. "Hate not laborious work," says Sirach,[3] "neither husbandry, which the Most High has ordained;" but there is no word spoken of trade. In the sixty-three works of which the Talmud consists, there is scarcely a word in honour of trade; but much pointing out the dangers of money-making, and of a wandering life. "Wisdom," says Rabbi Jochanan, in reference to Deuteronomy xxx. 12, "is not in heaven—that is to say, not to be found among the proud, nor beyond the sea—that is to say, you will not find it among traders and travelling merchants."[4] The reason for this is easily given—an unsettled life, filled with speculations for profit, encourages a worldly frame of mind, and does not allow of a truly religious education. When, however, the Jews in the Middle Ages not only gained

[1] J. Joma v. 3; *cf.* Delitzsch, *Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie*, p. 187.
[2] Mezia 88 *a*; J. Taanith 69 *b*; *cf.* B. Schabbath 15 *a*.
[3] Ecclesiasticus vii. 15.
[4] Erubin 55 *a*.

control of trade, but made themselves detested through usury, though they had the Mosaic Law on their side, which allowed them to accept interest from Gentiles,[1] thus making a distinction between fellow-citizens and foreigners which Christianity disallows, yet such professional usury was contrary to the spirit of Judaism; for the Talmud [2] places usurers on a level with gamblers, and declares both to be criminals unfit to bear witness in a court of law.

But labour and handicraft were held in high esteem by Judaism. "When the Holy One, blessed be His Name," runs a passage in the Talmud,[3] "pronounced judgment upon Adam, at the words 'Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee,' his tears fell, and he cried, 'O Lord of the world, must the Ass and I eat out of one manger?' But when God continued, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' he acquiesced." The life of man is no longer as in Paradise, and the earning of his bread often becomes, as the Talmud says in this very place, as hard as childbirth to a woman, and as difficult as the dividing of the Red Sea when the Hand of God parted the waters. But even in this earthly life, man is exalted over the beasts because his livelihood, scant and hard-earned as it may be, is a reward deliberately attained by his own work. The ass that bears its load, the ox that draws the plough, are unconscious servants, mere agents of the will of man; but he makes himself a servant of the soil [4] when he helps it to yield the seed of promise and the golden fruit. "Love labour" was the motto of Schemaja,[5] the teacher of Hillel, who probably died shortly before the birth of Christ. Another says, "Great is labour, for she brings her master to honour;" [6] and a third, "Great is labour, for she warms her master." [7] The Mosaic Law

[1] Deut. xxiii. 20. [2] Rosch ha-Schana i. 8. [3] Pesachim 118 *a*.
[4] A pretty play on words in the original Hebrew—*ebed* meaning servant, and *obed* peasant, Sanhedrin 58 *b*; *cf.* Prov. xii. 11, and Eccles. v. 9.
[5] Aboth i. 10. [6] Nedarim 49 *b*. [7] Gittin 67 *d*.

ordained that the theft of a sheep should be atoned by payment of four times its value, but that of an ox by payment of five times its value; and this discrepancy has been rightly explained as being in consideration of the disturbance of the owner's work in the second case. "Behold," is the conclusion, "in what high esteem God holds labour."[1] When a young man came one day to Rabbi Ishmael, he asked him, "My son, what is thy calling?" He answered, "I am a scribe." And Ishmael exclaimed, "Then be conscientious, my son, for thine is a Divine labour."[2]

And, indeed, all work worthy of the name is Divine. For the world is a great whole, in which everything acts and reacts. Every detail is a means to higher ends, and all is but a means to the end and purpose of the whole, the purpose God had in view when He planned and accomplished the creation of the world. The task of each individual must not be his own selfish enjoyment; it must consist in his making his actions subservient to the good of his whole environment, both in its narrowest and widest sense, and indirectly in the widest circle, for labour is thus acting for the benefit of the whole. In this general sense—if for a while we disregard the materials of earthly labour and our present troubles—labour fell to the share even of our first parents in Paradise, and in this sense labour may be called Divine and eternal. For the creative activity of God, in which He made omnipotence the instrument of His love, is called on the first page of the Bible a work; and even in heaven, so far as it has been revealed to holy seers, not idle and monotonous rest was to be seen, but movement, activity, self-sacrifice, the fulfilment of God's commands, the distribution of charges for heaven and earth—in short, labour in the service of God.

For this cause Paul in his epistles so often exhorts his readers to labour, to attend to their earthly employment,

[1] Kamma 79 *b*. [2] Sota 20 *a*.

working with their hands the thing which is good, that they might be able to give to the needy,[1] and that they might have lack of nothing.[2] There is a saying in the Talmud, "Live on the Sabbath as on a work-day (*i.e.* do not have any better food), and need no one's help;"[3] and again, "Let a man hire himself out even for the most repulsive work, and he will need no one's help."[4] The universe is founded on a system of reciprocal completion, and an idler is a useless member of the organisation, who hinders more than he helps; to give was always more blessed than to receive, and the bread of charity from the hands of others has always tasted bitter. For this reason Paul would make no use of his right, as preacher of the Gospel, to be supported by his willing hearers;[5] and Barnabas and certain others of his fellow-workers acted in the same way. Paul was therefore able to say of himself to the Thessalonians, that, besides his ceaseless preaching of the Gospel, he had laboured night and day with his own hands, that he might not be chargeable to any of them.[6] But he was in a more fortunate position than the Apostles in Palestine,[7] who were called away from their fishing—he had learned a trade which he could practise both on land and at sea.

"There is no handicraft," says the Talmud, "which is not necessary to the world; but happy is he whose parents have set him an example by choosing an excellent calling."[8] There is a difference in value and rank between the different handicrafts; but even the meanest of them brings no disgrace, since it ministers to the real needs of mankind, and any handicraft is better than none at all. Paul's saying, "Let him that stole steal no more, but

[1] Eph. iv. 28.
[2] 1 Thess. iv. 11-12; Luther translates this, "So that you may need nothing from them;" *i.e.* from strangers, which suits better with the parallels given below. (Trans.)
[3] Pesachim 112 *a*. [4] Bathra 110 *a*. [5] Matt. x. 10.
[6] 1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 8 *f*. [7] 1 Cor. ix.
[8] Kidduschin 82 *b*.

rather let him labour," reminds one of the old Jewish proverb, "The man who teaches his son no trade, teaches him highway robbery."[1] "Flay dead cattle on the highway," says another common proverb, "and do not say, 'I am a priest,' or 'I am a great man and cannot abide the task.'"[2] And God has so ordered matters that every artisan likes his trade, so that no trade may die out.[3] A certain Simeon, from the village of Sichnin, was, in the time of Christ, a skilled digger of wells and ditches, much in request in Jerusalem. He said one day to Rabbi Jochanan ben Zaccai, the disciple of Hillel, "I am as great a man as you." The great rabbi asked, "How so?"—"Because," said he, "I am no less necessary to the commonwealth than you. If a man comes to you and asks after ceremonially clean drinking water, you say to him, 'Drink out of this fountain, for its waters are pure and cold'; or if a woman asks you where there is good water for bathing, you say to her, 'Bathe in this or that tank, for its waters cleanse from impurity.'"[4] And in truth Simeon was just as necessary to the observation of the Jewish laws of purification as were any of the rabbis, to whose decision appeal was made in doubtful cases.

Down to the present day the mottos, "Meloche is Beroche" (work is a blessing), and "Arbeit is kaan Charpe"[5] (labour is no disgrace), survive in Jewish tradition. Of course there is no lack of Schnorrers, who wander from place to place and from land to land, living on the generosity of their compatriots; and there are pedlars who take after the parting advice of the mother to her son, "Let them kick you, let them beat you, let them trample on you, let them spit upon you and throw you into the kennel, but grow rich you must!" And it is but too evident what worldliness, what estrangement

[1] Kidduschin 29 *a*.
[2] Pesachim 113 *b*; Bathra 110 *a*.
[3] Berachoth 42 *b*.
[4] Midrasch Koheleth iv. 17.
[5] Tendlau, *Sprüchwörter und Redensarten deutsch-jüdischer Vorzeit*, No. 799.

from God has spread among the wealthier Jews since, driven from agriculture and handicraft, their nation has taken up the dangerous pursuits of wholesale and retail trade, or of sensational literature and dramatic art, to which they were addicted even in the time of the early Roman emperors.[1] But in all provinces this nation displays most distinguished talents, and a zeal and energy of which many of our Liberal party are so much afraid, that on the question of the emancipation of the Jews they prefer to remain illogical. Where the Jews have been allowed to follow agriculture, they have soon become at home in it again. When Austria in 1849 granted permission for them to own land, hundreds shut up their shops and threw aside their pedlars' packs to become peasants.[2] It remains to be seen whether freedom to follow all callings will make handicraft again dear to them as it was to the old Germans, who said that it was golden at bottom.

Yes, handicraft is indeed golden at bottom. "Even when the seven lean years come," says an old Jewish proverb,[3] akin to this German one, "they do not cross the artisan's threshold." Yet handicraft, too, has its darker side. It is worthy of note that real handicraft took its origin, as we read in one of the earliest pages of the Bible, among the descendants of Cain. Tubal Cain was the first smith. Cain, indeed, means smith; and Tubal, iron filings. So faithfully are traditions handed down in the East, that the blacksmith of the village of Gubbâta ez-zêtûn, on Mount Hermon, when dictating the inventory of his smithy to Consul Wetzstein, called the small particles of iron that fell from the forge "tûbâl."

The race of Cain, in the early days of humanity, is the

[1] Aliturius was a celebrated Jewish actor.—See Josephus' Life, c. 3.

[2] See the *Wertheimersches Jahrbuch* for 1856, p. 53 (Vienna). This transition from trade to handicraft is depicted in Leoprecht Kompert's pretty story "Trenderl," published in 1851 in his *Böhmische Juden*.

[3] Sanhedrin 29 *a*.

first to show a tendency towards worldliness, and handicraft has never since that time been able to divest itself of this curse of Cain. Throw it aside, dear young friends! Do not let your souls be entrapped by the earthly materials with which you labour. Do not let your calling become a cage for your mind. Let materialism, provincial narrow-mindedness, and uncultivated, disorderly vulgarity be hateful to you! You have a heavenly as well as an earthly calling, let it be your care that both are realised. Then the humblest among you will stand higher than many a gentleman of position, the clearness of whose sight is dimmed by his dissipations, higher than many who are proud of their wealth or of their noble birth, and have sunk their souls in their stables or their dog-kennels.

But I am wandering from my subject—the next lecture shall lead you all the farther into the details of Jewish artisan life in the olden times.

III

THE COMPARATIVE RANK OF THE DIFFERENT TRADES IN POPULAR OPINION

We have often made reference to the Talmud. No one who has not to some extent mastered the extremely difficult study of this work in the original language, is able to form any definite idea of this many-armed Colossus. It is an enormous theatre, in which thousands and thousands of voices, from at least five centuries, speak in confusion. No matter how carefully a law is formulated, we know by experience that it always admits of different explanations, and question after question arises when it is applied to the endless variety of actual life. Imagine some 10,000 regulations referring to Jewish life, and classified according to subject, and some 500 scribes and lawyers, mostly from Palestine or Babylon, who make each one of these regulations the subject of investigation and debate, and with hair-splitting ingenuity exhaust all the latent possibilities of both textual sense and possible application; further, imagine that the fine-spun thread of these interpretations of the law often becomes entangled in digressions, and that when one has toiled through long tracks of this sandy desert, one now and then reaches a green oasis where there are proverbs and stories of general interest. Then you will have a more or less accurate idea of this enormous and unique codex of law, compared with the bulk of which all the law-books of other nations are Liliputians, and which most resembles a motley, noisy, and crowded market, while they are quiet hermitages. Among this ceaseless repetition of "Rabbi So-and-So says," "Rab

So-and-So says," "Mar (master) So-and-So says," it may happen that we come on a Pharisee thanking God that he is not as other men, or one more humble, who, with the publican, says, "God be merciful to me a sinner!" When, therefore, we say that the Talmud is full of recognition of the honour of handicraft, this does not exclude expressions of Pharisaical intellectual pride, which, from the proud height of its study of the Law, looks down contemptuously on all the professions in the world,[1] and esteems the ink of learned men more precious than the blood of the martyrs.[2] Rabbi Nechunja Ben-Hakana, when he came out of the school, used to pray, "I thank Thee, Lord my God, that my part has been allotted me among those that visit the schools, and not among the idlers at street corners. I rise early and they rise early; I busy myself early in the morning with the words of the *Thora*, and they with vanities; I work and they work; I work and receive my reward, they labour and receive none; I run and they run; I hasten toward Life eternal, and they toward the bottomless pit."[3] How much less arrogant and pretentious is the similar passage, said to have been traditional among the teachers of Jabne (Jamnia), "I am the creature of God, and so is my fellow-man; my calling is in the town, and his in the fields; I go early to my work, and he to his; he does not boast of his labour nor I of mine, and if thou wouldest say, 'I accomplish great things and he little things,' we have learnt that whether a man accomplish great things or small, his reward is the same if only his heart be set upon Heaven."[4]

Nevertheless, though every piece of work that ministers to actual needs is honourable, and though the honour of the workman in the sight of God and of men of godly mind is measured out in accordance with the moral and religious standard of thought and action connected with his trade,

[1] J. Kidduschin 66 *b*.
[2] An Arabian proverb.
[3] Berachoth 28 *b*.
[4] Ibid. 17 *a*; *cf.* 2 Cor. viii. 15.

yet everywhere and at all times there has been among mankind a difference between trade and trade; and this distinction is justifiable in so far as it is formed by a right standard, and from the right standpoint. We must needs find it blameworthy that in ancient Egypt, as in modern India, the honour in which any work is held should be settled by the rank of the caste which practise it. In Germany also, during the Middle Ages, public opinion of any work depended on the position of the trade as a whole; and the position of the workman varied not according to the nature of his handicraft but according to the privileges and position of the guild to which he belonged. It lies in the nature of things that a community of interest should bring the members of the same handicraft together. Such associations continue to exist in Germany, despite the freedom of trades, they are therefore not identical with the old guilds. In the same way, in the time of Christ, the trades of Palestine had their associations. There was, for instance, a strange collection of moral and ceremonial phrases which were called "the Fullers' Proverbs,"[1] so that we see the fullers, who cleaned and thickened woollen stuffs and owned a washing and bleaching ground near the upper pool on the road to Joppa,[2] formed a circle of their own, with a separate set of ideas that only the initiated would understand. There were associations of donkey-drivers and of boat-owners, who undertook from the common fund to replace any donkey or boat which was proved not to have been lost through neglect.[3] But these were not guilds in the true sense of the word. On the other hand, in Egypt, the land of caste, guilds flourished among the Jews.[4] The Jews in Alexandria had a world-famed and splendid synagogue which was so large that the sacristan (chazzân) had to wave his head-cloth or veil[5]

[1] Succa 28 *a*; Bathra 134.
[2] Isa. vii. 3.
[3] Kamma 116 *b*.
[4] Grätz, *Geschichte*, iii. 33.
[5] Sudarium, a kind of napkin, not a pocket-handkerchief, for they were not used in those days.

as a sign to the congregation to say Amen. In this synagogue the congregation did not take their places promiscuously—the goldsmiths, silversmiths, nail and pin makers, coppersmiths and weavers, each had their own places and seats; and when a poor journeyman arrived, he took his place among his guild, which supported him until he found work.[1] The Alexandrian coppersmiths carried a folding bed with them on their journeys;[2] their trade-mark was a leathern apron;[3] they had a synagogue[4] and a cemetery[5] of their own in Jerusalem. We may be sure that they formed a guild, since there is mention of their rabban—*i.e.* guildmaster.[6]

The spirit of caste spread, therefore, from Egypt to Palestine; but the handicrafts were not here esteemed according to accidental guild-privileges which had no essential connection with them. Nor were they prized according to their intellectual character, according to the immateriality of their operations, to the relation which they bore to the higher and lower interests of mankind. For crafts and arts were not yet distinguished from one another; the language had no separate names for them. There was not then, as now, a rising gradation of crafts up to the highest Art; there was not then, as now, such kinship between handicraft and science that a mechanician can rise to the most influential position in the vanguard of science—for instance, in optics or acoustics.

The Law of Moses had instilled into the people a strong and delicate sense of what was clean or unclean. A trade that had to do with unclean things, the fetor of which clung to the workman, was ranked very low. The tanning of skins for leather, and mining, were considered such dirty trades that a woman was allowed to divorce, not only a collector of dog's dung who supplied the tanner with this tan, but even a tanner or a miner, whether he had become what was so intolerably re-

[1] Succa 51 *b*. [2] Sabbath 47 *a*. [3] Chullin 57 *b*.
[4] Megilla 26 *a*. [5] Nazir 52 *a*. [6] Aboda zara 17 *b*.

pulsive to her before or after their marriage,[1] thus putting them on a level with lepers, or those afflicted with fetid polypus. "The world cannot exist," says a common proverb,[2] "without perfumers or tanners. Well for you if you are a perfumer, woe to you if you are a tanner!" Tanyards, like middens and graves, must be at least fifty cubits without the town walls.[3]

Perfumery, however, had its drawback. Any intercourse with women, save in the seclusion of married life in the innermost recess of the home, was looked upon by the Jews, as by all orientals, with the utmost distrust, and limited as much as possible. It was regarded as a shameless exposure for a woman to leave her hair uncovered. It almost amounted to lasciviousness to listen to a woman singing.[4] They were so punctilious that, although the custom of Judæa allowed the bridegroom to pass an hour alone with his betrothed before the wedding, it was considered hazardous to grant even this much in Galilee.[5] It is no wonder, therefore, that Christ's disciples were surprised when they found Him speaking to a woman, and she the woman of Samaria.[6] He who was to raise humanity from the mire of sin to moral freedom, who was to help woman from the debasement to which she was then condemned by a one-sided view of sex relations,[7] to win the rights of an independent personality, mixed more freely with women. Renan has turned this fact to account in piquant passages of the novel to which he has transformed the Life of Christ. But in very truth Christ was destined to act in this way, not only because it was the will of God that the succession beginning with Mary, blessed among women, should be continued in Mary

[1] Kethuboth vii. 10. [2] Kidduschin 82 *b*. [3] Bathra ii. 9.
[4] Berachoth 24 *a*. [5] Kethuboth 12 *a*. [6] John iv. 27.
[7] The position of woman in the early days of Israel was quite different from that in later times, in which there was no one to compare with Miriam, Huldah, or Deborah. "Whoever instructs his daughter in the Law," says the Talmud (Sota 21 *b*), "teaches her evil ways," since she would make a bad use of her learning.

Magdalen, Salome, and other saintly followers of Christ, but also in order to raise the ban of ancient tradition, and form a community, the spiritual nature of which was to break the barriers placed by Mosaic Law between sexes and nations. The society of women is only dangerous for him in whom the fire of evil desire is not yet put out by the Water of Life, of which Jesus spoke to the woman of Samaria. But for this very reason we must find it excusable, that when Christ was born, and the power of sanctification of this new Life, this emancipation of the spirit from the bonds of flesh, was not yet known, handicrafts which brought men into touch with women were regarded with suspicion and held in low esteem. It was said that no unmarried man or woman should keep a school, because they would be visited by the mothers and fathers of the children; and, in the same way, no one should bind his son to a trade which brought him into connection with the other sex. Such professions were those of the goldsmith, the woolcarder, the maker of handmills, the perfumer, weaver, hairdresser, fuller, cupper, and bath-heater, none of whom could ever be a king or high-priest, not because of their being personally unfit for the posts, but because of their degrading occupations.[1] These trades were held in low estimation because they bring with them dangerous temptations which can only be overcome by such strict self-discipline as Rab Chanina and Rab Oschaja practised when they worked as shoemakers in a town of the Holy Land, notorious for its licentiousness; they made shoes for the courtesans, but would not raise their eyes to look at them when they came to give their orders.[2] "A wise man," runs the fable,[3] "set up his son in a perfumery shop at a place where whores congregate. The place, the trade, and the giddiness of the youth, all combined to make him a prey to

[1] Kidduschin iv. 13, 14; and Gemara 82 *a*.
[2] Pesachim 113 *b*.
[3] Landau's *Geist und Sprache der Hebräer*, p. 209.

sin. The father burst out in indignation, crying, 'I will slay thee.' A friend heard this, and said, 'Why such violence? Wouldst thou kill thy son? Was there no other trade for him than selling perfumes? Was there no other place for his shop than this market of courtesans?'"

Another standard by which the different callings were judged was the moral reputation of those who followed them. There were handicrafts which exposed workmen to the temptation of appropriating more than was right of the materials left with them. The concluding *Mischna* of the tractate *Baba kamma* gives exact details of how this is to be avoided. "The bits of wool," we read there, "which fall off the stuff when the fuller is soaking it, belong to him; but those which come away when the carder combs it, belong to the owner. The three threads which the clothmaker sets in the selvage, and the fuller draws out, belong to the fuller, all the rest to the owner. But if there are black threads bordering the white stuff, the fuller may keep them for himself when he has taken them out, since black does not look well on white. If the tailor has a needleful of thread left, or a piece of stuff three fingers square, they belong to the owner. The carpenter's plane shavings belong to him, the splinters from his axe belong to the owner; but if he works in the owner's house, even the sawdust belongs to the owner." Many handicrafts were in proverbial disrepute because of the way in which customers were cozened. "Let no man," runs a traditional saying, "make his son a donkey-driver, camel-driver, barber, boatman, shepherd, or huckster, for these are thievish callings." "Donkey-drivers," says another, "are for the most part godless; camel-drivers (despite the temptation to appropriate other people's goods which their life on the highways brings) are mostly honest; boatmen (because of the dangers they incur) mostly pious; the best of doctors is ripe for hell (because of the material views of life incident to the profession, and their frequent preferment of the rich to the poor);

and the most honourable of butchers is the comrade of Amalek (since he is not to be trusted about the quality of his meat)."[1]

The following story[2] throws a light on the deceitful wiles of donkey-drivers. There was great lack of salt in a certain town. A company of donkey-drivers agreed to bring salt for sale from elsewhere as quickly as possible. When they summoned their chief to start, he said, "To-day and to-morrow I must work in my fields, but wait a while and we will journey together." They consented. But by "working in his fields" he meant something different from what he said, for early next morning he confided it to his wife. "Mind and give me the saddle," said he, "when I ask for the yoke, and the sack when I ask for the jug." He then laid the sack on the donkey, and set off. When, later on, his friends came to fetch him, they heard that he had started the day before. As they set off he came towards them with his load. "How could you do such a thing?" they cried out. "Be reasonable," said he; "if we had all gone together, salt would have been cheap; now by the time you come back my salt will be sold, and you too will make a handsome profit." And the chief donkey-driver proved to be the chief in cunning as well.

The rule that boatmen are pious because of their having to do with the uncertain and dangerous elements, although it is not without exceptions, reminds us that Jesus called His first four disciples from a fishing-boat on the Lake of Gennesaret. The fisheries of this lake were open save that the sinking of weels was forbidden because it hindered navigation; with that sole restriction every one might try his luck with net or hook, and this was looked upon as one of the privileges granted by Joshua at the division of the land.[3] This fishing was not a lucrative business. In

[1] Kidduschin iv. 24; Sofrim 47 *d*, &c.
[2] Landau's *Geist und Sprache der Hebräer*, p. 185.
[3] Kamma 81 *a*.

the time before the Jewish war the boatmen and the poor of Tiberias formed a party so strong and so much dreaded, that Jesus son of Sapphias, who had made himself governor of the town, relied on their support alone.[1]

Jesus Christ chose His first disciples from among the fisherfolk and boatmen of the Lake of Gennesaret; according to Matthew He first saw them by the lake; according to John, He had met them in Judæa, whither they brought their fish, and to this we can trace the acquaintance of John son of Zebedee with the household of the high-priest. And it was a tanner, one of the class then so much despised, that opened his hospitable house to Peter in Joppa, and there it was that he was prepared for the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen also.[2] On the other hand it is a blot on the history of the fullers that one of their number with his mallet dealt the death-blow to James the brother of the Lord when, according to Hegesippus'[3] account of his martyrdom he was cast down from the roof of the Temple. Very obnoxious were the weavers; coarse songs to which no respectable person would listen were called "weavers' songs."[4] In the tractate Edijoth, i. 3, we hear of two respectable weavers from the Dung-gate of Jerusalem whose evidence was accepted as valid on a legal question, but for the most part history relates nothing good of weavers. Two Jewish journeymen weavers, Asinaios and Anilaios, in the Babylonian town of Nehardea, who were harshly used by their master when they came too late to work, took to arms, and these bold adventurers in the days of Caligula[5] for a long time made the regions of the Tigris and Euphrates unsafe. Another weaver, of the name of Jonathan, who belonged to the robber band of the Sicarii, drew the poor people of the province of Cyrene after him into the wilder-

[1] "Life of Josephus," chap xii.
[2] Acts ix. 43 *ff.*
[3] *Cf.* Eusebius h. eccl. 2, 28.
[4] Sota 43 *a.*
[5] "Josephus Antiquities," book xviii. chap. ix.

ness, where they were to see signs and wonders. But they were easily dispersed by the Romans, and Jonathan saved himself by lying accusations which sacrificed the lives of thousands of his people, until at last he was discovered, flogged, and burnt alive. With these events which occurred in the time of Vespasian Josephus concludes his account of the Jewish war.

When I used to hear the weavers' looms humming in so many houses, as I walked through the streets of Erlangen, it seemed to me that the sighs of poverty accompanied them. Weaving has at times been a profitable business, but for the most part it has lain under the ban of poverty. And this was the case in the century with which we are concerned. "A weaver who cannot stoop," says an old proverb, "will have his life cut off by the anathema"[1]—that is to say, he can only drag on his miserable existence by servile yielding and suppleness. Another version has it: "A weaver who curses his life, loses one of his years"—that is, he must be contented with his fate, unless he wishes to shorten his life by one outbreak of despair after another. And when a proverb says that even the weaver is a king in his own house,[2] it is with reference to the low social position of the weaver and signifies that even the meanest handicraft makes the craftsman, within certain limits, a master, in the same sense which the centurion of Capernaum said that he had a limited sphere of command, and Jesus an unlimited one.[3] Nor is any calling so mean that a man cannot be proud of it, for humanity, so often self-righteous in its blindness to its own sins, can be proud of all professions, and pride takes the most manifold forms from beggarly pride to pride of noble birth. And the wife especially honours her husband's calling as well as her husband, and is inclined to think no small matter of herself, however poor that calling may be. "Be the husband only as big as an ant," says a proverb, "yet the wife seats herself among the great." This self-

[1] Aboda zara 26. [2] Megilla 12 *b*. [3] Matthew viii. 9.

respect, so long as it does not degenerate into conceit, is the divinely ordered consequence of wedded love, which feels happy in the straitest circumstances, and throws its light on the pettiest detail. "Though the husband be but a fieldwatch," says another proverb, "the wife is content, and asks for no lentils in the pot." And a third, "Though the man be but a woolcomber, his wife calls him to the seat at the house door, and sits down beside him."[1]

There are many such proverbs of this time. Almost every trade contributes some, *e.g.* "As the oxen, so is the butcher";[2] that is to say, his standing is in proportion to the value of the cattle he slaughters; or, "The smith at his anvil is often repaid by his own handiwork;"[3] *i.e.* he forges the weapon which is to bring about his death; or the miller's proverb, which needs no explanation: "Every one has his luck in his own trough."[4] But seeing we have come to speak on the subject of marriage, let us take a glance at the artisan's home.

Even in those days there are warnings against imprudently early marriages, which too often lead to unhappiness. "First let a man build his house[5] and plant a vineyard, and then let him wed a wife." On the other hand a happy marriage made at a suitable time was regarded as the greatest happiness in this life, especially for a man who must live by the work of his hands. "If the wife is sleepy," says a proverb, "the bread-basket empties." But of the industrious wife it is said, "Even when she chatters, she still spins."[6] She is not only supported by her husband, she helps to keep him and the children. It was the custom in Judæa for women to make woollen clothes, and in Galilee linen ones.[7] Rabbi Eliezer

[1] For these three proverbs see Jebamoth 118 *b*, &c.
[2] Berêschith Rabba 57 *b*.
[3] Pesachim 28 *a*.
[4] J. Peah, i. 1, &c.
[5] Spoken in reference to Proverbs xxiv. 27.
[6] Sanhedrin 7 *a*, Megilla 14 *b*.
[7] Baba kamma x. 9.

answered a woman who asked him an abstruse question, that the only learning a woman needed was the distaff.[1] The prophet Elijah answered the question of the Rabbi Jose, as to how a woman was the helpmate of her husband (Genesis ii. 18): "The man brings corn into the house, can he eat corn? He brings flax, can he wear flax? No, his wife (since she grinds the corn and spins the flax) is the light of his eyes, and sets him on his feet."[2]

The servants who helped in the house were regarded as members of the family. The lament at the death of a good servant was: "Alas for my good and faithful servant, who brought me gain by his service."[3] Generous and considerate treatment of servants is recommended by precept and example. "Do not eat fine bread and give black bread to your servant, do not sleep on cushions and leave him straw, especially when he is of the same race and faith; for whoever buys a Hebrew slave, buys a master for himself,"[4] in so far as he must satisfy his claims to kind treatment. Justice was even in those days interpreted by the better Jews in the sense in which Joseph the husband of Mary is called a just man in the gospel of Matthew, not in the sense of the sternness of the law, but as one following the law of Love. Once the coopers had let the wine run out of a cask belonging to a rabbi. He took their coats in order to reimburse himself, at which they complained to a distinguished teacher. "Give them back their coats," was the judgment.—"Is that what you call dealing out justice?" asked the rabbi. "Yes," said he; "walk in the way of good men as Solomon commands."[5] Whereupon he gave them back their coats. But they complained, "We are poor people and have worked all day long and are hungry and have nothing." And the judge said, "Come, give them their wages."—"Is that dealing justice?" asked the rabbi. "Yes," said he, "for Solomon continues: 'Keep the

[1] Joma 66 *b*. [2] Jebamoth 63 *a*. [3] Berachoth 16 *b*.
[4] Kidduschin 20 *a*. [5] Proverbs ii. 20.

paths of righteousness.'"[1] According to another story, four hundred casks of wine belonging to a rich learned man went sour. Candid friends who saw in this the finger of Providence, besought him to search into his conduct. "Do you then suspect," said he, "that I have done something wrong because this evil has fallen upon me?" To which they replied: "Can we accuse God of having punished thee without a cause?"—"Good, then," answered he, "if any one has heard evil of me let him say so." Then they said, "We have heard that his honour keeps back the share of the vineyard that belongs to his gardener." —"Has the gardener," cried he, "left me anything? He steals all that I have." But they insisted that he was treating the gardener unjustly, and quoted the proverb, "Who steals from a thief is no better than the thief."[2]

Such traits of a course of conduct that substitues mercy for justice and overcomes evil with good, always do us good wherever we meet them. We ought not to need special exhortations to act in this way, the example of Divine Love should suffice, which daily preserves us, although we reward it with ingratitude, and daily lets the sun shine on the just and the unjust. How much more is this duty of love enjoined on us—a love inspired, not by the merit but by the needs of our neighbour—since Jesus the Messiah of Israel, the Saviour of the world, sacrificed Himself for His sinful people, and for the whole sinful human race. With His heart's blood shed on Golgotha, the gift of a righteousness valid before God, and the power of a new Love comprehending the whole world, is waiting for all who will let His sacrifice be for themselves what it is designed to be for all men. Brothers, friends, whatever may be your station or your calling, strive to ennoble your souls by righteousness and love, and make this lily and this rose your coat-of-arms.

[1] Meziâ 83 *a*. J. Meziâ vi. 6 tells the same story of a potter whose servants broke the pottery that they had to move.
[2] Berachoth 5 *b*.

IV[1]

A JUNE DAY IN JERUSALEM DURING THE LAST DECADE BEFORE THE BIRTH OF CHRIST

DURING one of the years of the last decade before the Christian era, either the ninth or somewhat later, for we are not certain on the point, all Palestine and Syria were awaiting with anxiety the end of a terrible tragedy. Mariamne, the best beloved and most noble of Herod's wives, one of the royal house of the Maccabees, had already fallen a victim to his dark suspicions. And now a conspiracy had charged the two sons of the murdered queen, Alexander and Aristobulus, who were the pride and joy of the nation, with plotting attempts on the king's life. By intimidation he forced a tribunal in Berytos to condemn them to death unseen and unheard. Every one wondered how it was possible that a father should condemn his own sons, and they two such noble and entirely innocent sons, to death. Let us place ourselves in the midst of this time of fearful waiting, and unroll the picture of a day in that Jerusalem before our eyes.

It is a week-day of the month of Siwan, which corresponds to our June. The stars of a cloudless sky are beginning to fade in the early morning twilight. The two companies of the Temple-guard, bearing torches, have already met at the chamber in which the high-priest's

[1] Chief sources: Josephus, "Wars of the Jews," book i. chaps. xxiii.–xxvii. and "Antiquities," book xvi. chaps. vii.–xi. The Talmuds. For the topography, beside the original sources, Unruh's *Das alte Jerusalem und seine Bauwerke*, 1861.

meat-offering in being baked, and have called to one another that all is well. Those priests who were not on duty last night have already risen, bathed and put on their robes of office. In the square cell, one half of which serves as the council-chamber of the Sanhedrin, lots have been drawn to decide the division of the day's charges. The bronze basin which has stood all night in the water has been drawn out, and the priests have washed their hands and feet in it. Then the morning summons to the town below is sounded, the priests blow their trumpets, and the peal resounds through the quiet of the early morning, far away in the upper and lower, the old town and the new.

At the command of the captain of the guard, the Levites open all the gates of the Temple. The preparations for morning service, centring round the sacrifice of a lamb, are begun. The altar of burnt-offering is purified, the piles of wood laid over glowing coals take fire, the musicians fetch their instruments and uncover them. The guard is changed and the priest and Levites who officiated yesterday are dismissed. This is all done by torchlight. Meanwhile the captain is watching for the approach of day. He sends some of the priests to the roof of the Temple. When the sky is so bright that one can see Hebron, to the south-east of Jerusalem, among the mountains, they call out, "Barkāï ad Chebron"[1] (the dawn has reached Hebron), and at once the cry resounds, "Priests, come to your ministry! Levites, come to your *Pulpêt!* Israel, come to your place!" This last cry refers to the representatives of the people. A band of them, relieved weekly, helped with the sacrifices, and passed the night in the Temple.

Meantime the town and its surroundings begin to stir. The reveille sounds in the Castle of Antonia. The booths of Beth-Hini are opened under the cedars on the Mount of Olives. In the Street of the Temple that leads from the Castle Square to the western wall, on the Temple hill,

[1] Joma iii. 1.

we can see the cattle-dealers and money-changers hastening in front of the worshippers, to the Temple-market in the Forecourt of the Gentiles. And those who are bound for the morning service pass out of the upper town by the Gate of Xistus, out of the new town by the market gate and by other roads, to the slope of the Temple hill. The bridge joining the Terrace of Xistus to the Temple precincts is crowded. Here and there a passer-by stops to look to the left at the splendid theatre, or to the right down into the Tyropœon, or valley of cheesemakers,[1] so as to breathe the fresh country air blowing up from the dairies below.

But every one does not attend morning service in the Temple. There are hundreds of synagogues in Jerusalem.[2] The two fine gentlemen yonder, dressed quite in the Greek style, who are talking Greek to one another, go to the Synagogue of the Alexandrians. The worthy citizen carrying his prayer-cloak and phylacteries under his arm attends the Synagogue of the Coppersmiths, where he pays for his seat, while the lady with her hair fresh from the hairdresser, and the bunch of roses, has no idea of hiding her rich morning costume behind the lattice of the women's gallery in a synagogue; she trips towards the Temple hill to let herself be seen in the Forecourt of the Women.[3] The worshippers disperse in all directions, most of them look anxious, and if they talk or walk together, they look nervously about them. A dignified old man with a long beard and two white curls in front murmurs to himself as he passes the square in front of the theatre, "I thank Thee, my God, God of my fathers, that Thou hast set my lot amongst those who abide in the Synagogues and Schools, not among those who frequent the theatre and the circus."[4] His wife who walks beside

[1] Cheesemakers were called megabberîm (Schabbath 95 *a*).

[2] According to J. Megilla 73 *b* there were 480; according to J. Kethuboth 35 *b*, 460.

[3] See Delitzsch, "Commentary on Isaiah," iii. 16 *f*.

[4] Berachoth 28 *b*, and its parallels in the Jerusalem Talmud.

or rather a step behind him, says under her breath, "Amen!" and looking across to the Tower of Mariamne with tears in her eyes, whispers, "Thou hast passed beyond all this; well for thee that thou livest no longer, noble Mariamne!"

Meantime the sun is risen, and the time of morning prayer when the sacrifice is performed in the Temple has come. Yonder Pharisee, overtaken in the street by the time for prayer, suddenly stops and binds his ponderous phylacteries on arm and forehead. The labourer, basket in hand, up in the fruit-tree, stops his picking and prays in his temple of boughs.[1] There is prayer on all sides. Only in Herod's palace silence reigns. The tyrant is still asleep, and his parasites walk on tiptoe. The nation prays, and wherever it prays it adds in thought to the spoken prayer an appeal for deliverance from tyranny. In thought, too, it intercedes for the two noble sons of the house of the Maccabees, Alexander and Aristobulus, whose mother, the high-minded princess Mariamne, was murdered by her husband, that same Herod who now keeps his slandered sons in a dungeon, hovering between life and death. However, Herod's government is not so bad but that it has a crowd of hirelings for its partisans, parasites and philistines from among the court-bakers, court-perfumers, and so forth.

After the morning prayer, indeed before it is finished in the Temple and the synagogues, the great market-place in the new town becomes the scene of stirring, many-coloured life. This market-place is not, like a German one, a square opposite the town hall; the town hall of Jerusalem was on the Terrace of Xistus, and the lower market-place was a long wide street, such as would be called Broadway or the Mall in an English town. On each side were rows of shops, booths, and tables; fine cakes, made of the wheat of Ephraim,[2] are being bargained

[1] Berachoth 16 *a*.

[2] Ephraim is mentioned, John xi. 54, and in the proverb, "You are carrying straw to Ephraim," *i.e.* coals to Newcastle, Menachoth 85 *a*.

for by the hucksters, who mean to sell them again at a profit in other parts of the town; a poor little girl, with bits of wood in her ears instead of earrings, is gazing greedily at the cakes of figs and raisins; all sorts of fish from the Lake of Tiberias attract the attention of the young students, who are making their way to the academy of Simeon ben Schetach;[1] house-decorations and ornaments of all kinds are for sale, even false teeth with gold or silver wire to fasten them.[2] Here is a man crying his *dibs* or grape syrup; yonder another recommends his Egyptian lentils of prime quality; a third has cummin for sale, and turns a pepper mill. Where the space in front of the houses is unoccupied, those artisans whose work permits of it have turned the street into a workshop, and are so industrious that even if Hillel himself or another great rabbi should pass by, they would not interrupt their business to rise.[3] Here a shoemaker is fitting the uppers to the sole of a sandal; there a tailor is trimming a prayer-cloak with fine fringes; yonder an armourer is hammering at the handle of a sword of Syrian steel. In the less crowded and more shady side lanes, such as the streets of the butchers or the woolcombers, still more handicrafts are to be seen, even flax is heckled in the street.[4] The market grows busier still. Buyers, sellers, and onlookers crowd in from all the gates. At the lower corner by the Market gate, and at the upper one where the streets from the North gate and the Gate of the Women's Tower come in, the job workmen are waiting; one is hired to take the flax out of soak, and his employer tells him: "Bread and peas, that's all we eat at my house."[5] At the Market gate in the very centre of the town stand the cunning donkey-drivers; one of them has the luck to be hired to move a bed and other household furniture, together with the indispensable flutes, over

[1] Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii. 145.
[2] Schabbath vi. 5.
[3] Kidduschin 33 *a*.
[4] Chullin 60 *a*.
[5] Mezia vi. 1; vii. 1.

to Bethany against an approaching wedding.[1] This is a group of men that let no one pass by without giving him some satirical comment. A grave, abstracted man, who looks ill, hastens past. "The gentleman has certainly had a bad dream," says one of the donkey-drivers; "to which of the twenty-four interpreters does he mean to go?"[2] A barber elbows through the crowd. "Good morning, Sir Surgeon," they call to him: "how's trade?"—"A hundred cuppings a penny!"[3] cries he. A fat scribe with a copper face pushes an old woman rather roughly out of his way. "How red you are, old man!" she screams; "you are either a winebibber or some pawnbroker or pigbreeder."[4]

If we go through the Market gate and across the lower town, we can pass through the Gate in the Wall of the Maccabees, close to the tomb of John the High-priest, into the open country, and thence turning to the south through the Gennâth gate, to the upper market, between the Palace of the Maccabees and the Palace of Herod, which surpasses even the Temple in splendour. Here, too, is a motley crowd, but nothing to compare with the merry confusion of the great lower market. Here it is more quiet, more aristocratic. Here are the handicrafts which in this town of many trades[5] King Herod has chosen out for his favours; sculptors and florists predominate. Yonder a goldsmith displays a *Terpôle*,[6] a vine made of hammered metal; near him a potter has laid out his vessels and vases of black and white clay, and the most delicate figs in Jerusalem, grown in the "Rosegarden"[7] and manured with blood from the sacrifices, are here for sale. The old man dressed all in white, with shoes which a beggar would scarcely pick up in the street, is an Essene,[8]

[1] Mezîa vi. 1. [2] Berachoth 55 *b*. [3] Schabbath 129 *b*.
[4] J. Schekalim 47 *b*; *cf.* B. Nedarim 49 *b*.
[5] Jerusalem is so named by Aristeas.
[6] "Josephus Antiquities," book xiv. chap. iii.
[7] Maseroth ii. 5; *cf.* Kamma 82 *b*.
[8] The Essenes were in favour with Herod; *cf.* "Josephus Antiquities," book xv. chap. x. 5; "Wars," ii. 8, 3 *ff*.

he is looking about to see if he can find some one to direct him to the house of the chief of his sect. The fresh morning breeze blowing up from the sea has died away and the heat of the day begins to make itself felt; the great tank in the middle of the market place is surrounded by young and old. Sometimes the crowd timidly makes way for one of the royal servants on horseback; buyers stand back to give precedence to a eunuch of the royal household. But a young Galilean who has spread a square linen cloth on the ground, and set on it a large amphora full of oil from Lebanon, and beside it a huge watermelon, as an attraction to customers, watches with scorn and amusement the servile fear of the crowd. "Where do you come from?" asks a nervous little man with a thin beard, as the youngster pours him out oil in his egg-shaped clay measure.[1] "I am from the town," cries he, "that is perched on the hillside like a bird!" He means Sepphoris.[2] A man passes by with red and blue threads drawn through the lobe of one ear, green and yellow ones through the other; he is a dyer, and shows his profession in this way.[3] The Galilean laughs at this queer way of advertising, and calls out to the stranger, "Master Tobia, can you dye red (adom) white?" It is an allusion to Herod the Edomite. One of Herod's spies[4] hurries to inform the market guard, and when two of the soldiers order the youth to follow them, he resists with such Herculean strength that they cannot move him. A crowd collects about them, and the soldiers become afraid of causing a disturbance close to the palace. While one of them wrestles with him, the other runs a sword through his

1 Herzfeld, *Metrologische Untersuchungen*, p. 102.

2 Megilla 6 *a*.

3 J. Schabbath 3 *b*; Mischna: "The Scribe (*libellarius*) shall not go out (*i.e.* towards evening on Friday) with his pen (*calamus*) behind his ear, nor the dyer with his patterns in his ear, nor the money-changer with the denarius in his ear;" compare further the Scholion. The Mischna of the Babylonian Talmud omits the dyer and money-changer, substituting for them the tailor with his needle.

4 "Josephus Antiquities," xv. 10, 1.

body. With the words: "He will visit thine iniquity, O daughter of Edom, he will discover thy sins!"[1] he falls backward, and his blood mingles with the oil of Lebanon from his overturned and broken vessel.

Cries of indignation at the brutality of the soldiers and the baseness of the betrayer, cries of despair at such shameless violation of freedom, cries of sorrow at the murder of this young martyr to her cause, fill the air; but as if at a magic sign understood by all, the confusion of cries changes to dumb silence. From mouth to mouth spreads news of the approach of a man who has just passed under the Gennâth gate, and, casting sharp glances on every side, crosses the market with light steps scarcely to be heard, carrying a pretty little box under his arm. His dress is in the fashion rather of Alexandria than of Jerusalem; his hair is black, dyed, it would seem; his fingers are covered with brilliant rings. As he passes the table of a scribe who sells phylacteries and all kinds of charms against evil spirits, finely written on parchment, he glances at them and cries, "Why, you rival Diophantus!" This was the name of the scribe who forged a letter purporting to be written by Alexander, the son of Herod and Mariamne, now lying in prison, to the governor of the fortress of Alexandrion, asking him as soon as Herod should be deposed, to transfer his allegiance to Alexander and yield up the military stores in the fort. "You do me too much honour, sir," answers the old man, inwardly enraged at this comparison. The dreaded newcomer goes to where the crowd is thickest. It parts before him, and the bloody corpse of the young Galilean is seen. Unmoved at the sight, he calls in a shrill, disagreeable voice: "Friends, you prove the truth of the proverb: Where the ox falls, the butchers gather together!'

This man is Tryphon, the court barber, who has this very day planned a masterpiece of subtlety, to raise

[1] Lamentations iv. 22.

himself higher than ever in Herod's favour. An honest old soldier in the king's service, one Teron, took the fate of the princes Alexander and Aristobulus so much to heart that he almost lost his reason. He went about crying against this trampling on justice, this triumph of lies. At last he poured out all his complaint before Herod, saying how many in the army were of his opinion. The consequence was as might have been expected, that he and his son, who had been attached to the person of Prince Alexander, were kept under lock and key in the Castle of Antonia. "I can neither help them nor hurt them," thought Tryphon, "therefore I may be permitted to draw my own advantage from the misfortune their imprudence has brought on them." With this thought in his mind he passed under the portal of the palace and ascended the splendid flight of stone steps to the high terrace where the castle stood. Here between ten and eleven, or, according to their reckoning, between five and six (for they counted from sunrise), he hoped to find the king awake. Last night, a feast, to which a hundred guests were invited, was held in one of the great banqueting halls of the castle, in honour of Nicholas of Damascus; till far into the night they caroused, and drank to the confusion of all the king's enemies.

The June sun is burning more fiercely than ever. The crowd is dispersing from both markets, and we, too, are hungry and thirsty. What shall we drink? Median or Babylonian beer, Egyptian *Zithos* or country cider?[1] We need not be long seeking for an *uschpiza*[2] (landlord) who will serve us with one or the other. In the street of the Woolcombers (*schûk schel zammârîm*)[3] we saw just now some great jugs standing out in the sun. There was wine set out in them for the heat to ferment. We will

[1] Pesachim iii. Wunderbars' *Biblische-talmudische Medicien*, i. 75 *ff.* and *passim.* [2] Erubin 53 *b.*

[3] Ibid. 101 *a*, where also the street of the poulterers (pattâmim) is mentioned.

turn in there and ask if we can have a dish of locusts baked with flour, or with honey, or simply salted, for we must make closer acquaintance with the food of the country. How crowded it is, and what a noise! Before the host can take our order, a coppersmith, we know him by his apron, thrusts his brimmer under our noses and cries, "Fools! to eat without drinking is wasting one's own blood."[1] A soldier joins us, and, saying, "the gentlemen seem to be scholars," clinks cups with the coppersmith and shouts loud enough to deafen us: "Chamra wechaja lefûm rabbanan wethalmidehon"[2] (this draught to the health of masters and scholars). "Oh thou ass!" cries a third, "what doest thou know of scholars?—people say where there are swords there are no books."[3] Two quieter guests playing backgammon[4] in a corner, offer us seats next them. The noise in the dirty hole of a room grows louder every minute. We can see how this despotic government has divided even the lowest classes into Herodians and lovers of freedom. "How are Aleph and Aleph?" asks one, meaning Alexander and Aristobulus. "Head of a dog," his neighbour snaps him up, "silence is the best spice."[5] "Who was the fellow in the upper market?" asks another. "Afra lefuma de Jjob"[6] (dust in Job's mouth, *i.e.* hold your tongue) a tanner calls to him domineeringly. "What, thou stinking marshweed!" he answers, "wouldst thou silence me?"—"Call names as thou likest," says the tanner, "a myrtle is a myrtle even when it grows among weeds."[7] And so no free discussion is ventured, for walls have ears. And when an acknowledged Herodian sneezes like a crocodile so that the man sitting next him is fain to move his cup lest a shower fall into it the whole double-minded company cries: "*Jas, jas*, bless you, bless you!"

The sun has meantime reached the meridian. The

[1] Schabbath 41 *a*. [2] Ibid. 67 *b*. [3] Aboda zara 17 *b*.
[4] See my essay on "Chess" in the *Orient* for 1840, No. 4.
[5] Megilla 18 *a*. [6] Bathra 16 *a*. [7] Sanhedrin 44 *a*.

white marble of the palaces throws back the burning glare of noonday. The Temple shines above the town like a sea of light. If we look up to the Temples or the Castle of Antonia, to the three towers of the city of David or to Herod's palace, we are dazzled and blinded. The streets are almost deserted; the silence is only broken here and there by the cries of a waterseller or a hawker of Edomite vinegar; *i.e.* wine turned sour by the introduction of barley. Workmen and donkey-drivers, resting in the shade, dip their bread into a sort of whey called Babylonian *cuthach*. In the dyehouse things are on a grander scale: the journeymen dine off a soup made of grilled meat and slices of onion, and drink their *zuman*[1] to it. But on the goldsmith's table stands a large jug of wine, and a vessel with a bottom of finely woven Egyptian palm-fibre to strain the wine; juicy fruits stand about for a second course.[2]

The day is hot and oppressive, but more oppressive still is the mental atmosphere. A rumour has spread through the town that King Herod has had another attack of fury and vowed to slay hundreds. Some say that they have seen the court barber, Tryphon, led across the Castle square by four soldiers. "Yes, indeed," says another, "I went to the Temple for the second hour of prayer, and as I came back and was walking down the Temple street to the Castle square, I saw the iron gate close, and Tryphon hanging his head, as the soldiers hurried him across the bridge over the Valley of Antonia into the fortress." It was true: Herod's favourite had hoped to raise himself still higher in favour by disclosing a secret. He had shaved the king and left the palace; for a long time he walked up and down in the avenues with which the Castle square was planted, in inward struggle. At last he made his decision, had himself again announced for audience, and told his lying story. Teron, he said, who was now in prison because of his zeal for the cause of Alexander and Aristobulus, had tried to persuade him to cut the king's throat with his razor as he shaved him,

[1] Water mixed with bran; *cf.* Pesachim iii. 1. [2] Schabbath xx. 2.

and for this he promised him high favour and rich presents from Alexander. "I thank thee for thy open candour," said the king, who always believed the worst, whether it was told him or no; but especially when it was told him, and more particularly when it concerned his slandered sons. He sank for a long time into a dark reverie, then, suddenly rousing himself, he cried out, more like a wild beast than a man, so that Tryphon trembled like a leaf: "So he often tried to persuade thee, and this is the first time thou hast found good to tell me of it? Hast thou lent thine ear to this dog for so long, and spun treachery with him? Was the reward for this cupping thou hast planned for me not quite high enough?" Tryphon would have spoken, but the king threw the door open and shouted: "Seize him! See that he is lodged in Antonia, and tell the governor there that he is an accomplice of Teron and his son." So Tryphon was now in the dungeon, and while the artisans of Jerusalem allowed themselves a little rest, the torturers were hard at work in Antonia, and with them the magistrates who took down the depositions of the victim.

We cannot expect Jerusalem to sympathise with Tryphon, who has brought misery on many families with his talebearing sycophancy. But could we penetrate into the houses, we should find everywhere troubled and anxious sympathy for the sons of Mariamne, spoken sometimes timidly, since lack of confidence had crept even into the inmost circle of home, and sometimes more openly.

It is now nearly three in the afternoon. A crowd of people, mostly young men, comes from the direction of the north gate and another crowd is hastening towards it. Those in the houses ask what is afoot; a Biccurim procession,[1] say the others, is stopping before the North gate. Biccurim is the name given to the first-fruits of the fields, which are sacred to the Lord, and must be brought to the

[1] Biccurim iii. 2 *ff.*; *cf.* Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii. 128 *f.*

Temple. The land was divided into twenty-four districts. At the appointed time those who were to bring the first-fruits to Jerusalem gathered in the chief town of the district, taking no lodgings and passing the night in the street, so as to be ready at once next morning when the summons of the captain of the district resounded: "Arise, let us go up to Zion, to the House of the Lord our God!" One of these processions it was that had made a halt before the North gate, so as to send news to the Temple of its arrival, and meantime to arrange the first-fruits, placing the finest of them in a ring round the rest. Already the delegates from the Temple are coming out to meet them. They are representatives of the priests and Levites on duty and of the treasurers of the sanctuary. Already we can hear their joyous flute-playing in the distance. There could not have been a more welcome interruption to the sad mood of Jerusalem to-day. Israel's patriotism, oppressed by tyranny, is lighted up once more at this spectacle, and we feel at once that it suits far better with the character of the people than do the drama and the Greek music of the theatre or the gladiators and baiting of wild beasts in the amphitheatre, the two buildings that Herod had presented to the town. Those who come from near Jerusalem bear fresh figs in baskets made of gold, silver, or simple willows, and although June is not yet past, there are ripe grapes already. Those from a long distance bring dried figs and other fruits, and from their baskets hang the doves destined for burnt-offering, with their wings tied. A bullock, the common thank-offering for them all, heads the procession; his horns are gilded, and on his head is a wreath of olive. It is a long procession that winds into Jerusalem to the sound of flutes. That is why the deputation from the Temple, sent to receive all these arrivals, is so numerous. The eager question whence they come is soon answered; they come from Sebaste, the old Samaria. Whenever the procession passes a group of artisans seated at their work

before the houses or in the entries, they rise respectfully and call to them: "Achenu ansche Sebasti bathem leschalom!—Dear brothers, men of Sebaste, welcome!"

When, to the music of their flutes, they have reached the Temple hill, every man sets his basket on his shoulder. When they come to the Forecourt of the Men the Levites begin to sing the Psalm,[1] "I will extol Thee, O Lord; for Thou hast lifted me up, and hast not made my foes to rejoice over me." The doves that are tied to the baskets are taken for burnt-offerings, and whatever else they have brought they give to the priests, repeating as they do so the confession prescribed in Deuteronomy[2] for those that offer the first-fruits. All this is to this day performed at evening service in the synagogue. A great crowd of men, women and children has followed them to the Temple, and presses round them as they go out. Relatives and friends claim their rights, and those, too, who have neither, have hospitality pressed upon them.

While they sit at supper in the houses of their hosts, or as they rest on the cushions, there is one constant question: "Have you no news of the sons of Mariamne?" One says: "They are still imprisoned in the Sidonian village of Platane."—"No," says another, "they are in far stricter imprisonment; they have been moved from Platane to Tyre—but tell us, ye men of Jerusalem, what the king means to do with them."—"He will kill them," says the host, "and then build two towers in their honour."—"He never loved them," says the hostess; "for he hates every one who is better than himself. I have sometimes seen him walking with the two princes; they were almost a head taller than he; but how they stooped in order not to seem so!" A rabbi who has been invited, thinks, since he is a scholar of Hillel, who stands so high in Herod's favour, that he must take the king's side. "Fie," cry the others; "if you have taken up God's trade [if you are busied with the word of God], put on His livery

[1] Psalm xxx. [2] Deut. xxvi. 3 *f.*

also! [be charitable]."[1] Then, not without bitterness, they tell the story of what a "moustache day" Tryphon has had of it, for so they call a barber's unlucky day, when he earns but little;[2] and they tell how Tryphon slandered the worthy Teron and his son; how they have been cruelly tortured into false admissions, and how certainly some day soon another gigantic execution of hundreds will take place, until the countryman from Thirza cries: "How glad I shall be to get out of the Holy City again now it has become a den of murderers!" And when he gets home, what sad news awaits him! Alexander and Aristobulus have been taken from Tyre to Sebaste, and there strangled. And in Jerusalem the days that follow are stained with blood. The task of cleaning the streets grew ghastly.[3] The king accused Tryphon and the officers of his army of high treason before the assembled populace in the theatre. The mob of Jerusalem became like a wild beast when its vengeance was let loose against the officers, most of whom it hated. Three hundred were killed with clubs and stones. Teron was among them.

Here and there in the stillness of a chamber, the corner of a synagogue or the darkness of a vault, prayer was offered up that the Messiah might soon appear and put an end to this bloody tyranny, this worldly revel and riot. And indeed the atmosphere needed a thorough cleansing to clear it of the unctuous odour of sensuality, the reek of the bloody sacrifices of perverted justice, the smoke, the vapour of fat and of incense from the burnt-offerings and meat-offerings. And this purification drew near; when, about thirty years later, Jesus of Nazareth came out of the iron gate of the Castle of Antonia, and bore His cross up the *Via dolorosa* to Golgotha, the hour of the Herods, the hour of salvation, had come.

[1] Berêschith Rabba chap. lv. extr.
[2] Dukes' *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, p. 102.
[3] Mezia 26 *a*, &c.

V

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN LETTERS AND HANDICRAFT

When the procession with the first-fruits passed through the streets of Jerusalem, we saw how all the artisans at their work in front of the house rose to bid it a kindly welcome.[1] Pleasantly surprised by the sight of so many of their fellow-countrymen come from a distance, they involuntarily laid down their work. The religious character of the procession claimed from them this mark of reverence, which was due not only to the men that formed it, but also to God, in whose honour they entered the town. Artisans were, however, expressly permitted to remain seated and go on with their work, no matter who passed by. Although learning was held in such high esteem, an artisan at his work was not called upon to rise, even for a rabbi.[2]

We may take it for granted that some of those artisans in the street were themselves men of learning. In Germany, too, Jacob Böhm, who, after his journeyman's time was out, in 1594, settled in Görlitz as a master shoemaker, became one of the greatest thinkers, and has never found an equal in his attempt to bring knowledge of God and the world, heaven and earth, into one coherent system, viewed from the standpoint of biblical Christianity. In Germany, too, there was a time when the craftsmen of the towns came into the inheritance of the knightly troubadours; they could then point to many of their number who were really masters of popular poetry, as was Hans Sachs of Nuremberg, at once a shoemaker and

[1] Biccurim iii. 3. [2] Kidduschin 33 *a*, Chullin 54 *b*.

a poet of world-wide fame. But the connection between craftsmanship and letters was different in the times of which we are speaking. In the case of Jacob Böhm we see a man destined to pass his days at a cobbler's bench, reaching the sublimest heights by means of an intellect richly endowed by Nature and the grace of God—he is an exception. In the schools of the Meistersinger, whose members all came from the guilds, it was not science but art which the burgesses cultivated as enthusiastically as the knights had done before them. Poetry was for them a noble pastime, to which they were impelled by the character of the age. But when in the time of Christ many a Jewish rabbi was at the same time an *uschcâf* (shoemaker) or a *sandelâr* (sandal-maker), this was neither exceptional nor was it because study was a relaxation from his work, but in those days it was a widespread custom while studying and teaching, to earn one's daily bread with one's hands. Certainly there was no lack of individuals who declared science and handicraft to be incompatible, but the prevailing opinion was that handicraft was ennobled by connection with science, or, rather, science was ennobled by connection with a handicraft.

Jesus Sirach (Ben-Sira) in the book of proverbs that he wrote about two hundred years before Christ, and which his grandson translated into Greek about the year 125, honours the practical professions, such as farmer, artisan, or artist; but considers the profession of a scribe, the equivalent of the modern scientific man, incompatible with them.[1] He depicts the work of the farmer, the carpenter, the smith, and the potter, in order to show that their callings, if wholeheartedly followed, leave no leisure for study and do not fit them for becoming learned men, representatives of the people or judicial functionaries. "They are indispensable in a town," says he, "but cannot be sent away on business; they cannot fill offices nor govern the community; they cannot have wisdom enough to teach the

[1] Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 24-xxxix. 11.

Law, nor to preach right and justice,"[1] a decision which, I well remember, was urged here in Leipzig in 1831 against the introduction of the Constitution, and the appointment of common councilmen. But the question was differently decided in a later discussion, in the second century after Christ.[2] How can the Scripture say, "Thou shalt gather in thy corn" (Deut. xi. 14), while elsewhere it says, "This Book of the Law shall not depart out of thy mouth" (Josh. i. 8); is it possible to do both according to the words of Scripture? Rabbi Ismael concluded from these passages that study of the Law and work for earthly necessities were compatible; and that the former must be conformed to the latter. Rabbi Simeon bar Jochai objected: "Is this possible? How can a man who ploughs study the Law while he is ploughing, or a sower study while he sows, or a reaper at harvest time, or a thresher while he threshes, or a winnower as he winnows? No, if Israel faithfully kept the will of God, the menial duties which now fell to their share would be performed by others, as Isaiah (lxi. 5) says, "Strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and the sons of the alien shall be your plowmen and your vinedressers." It is added that many who followed the example of Rabbi Ismael obtained the desired end, but not those who, according to the example of Rabbi Simeon, occupied themselves exclusively with the study of the Law, or as the Talmud has it,[3] made the *Thora* their trade, made God's work their work. The sayings of the earlier rabbis prove that even in the first century of the Christian era preference was given to the connection of learning with a calling which secured the necessities of life. "Love to labour with your hands,"[4] was the motto of Schemaja, one of Hillel's teachers. The following proverb comes from the family of Gamaliel:[5]

[1] This version of the passage given by Delitzsch differs from both the authorised and revised English readings in points essential to his argument (Trans.).

[2] Berachoth 35 *b*.

[3] Schabbath 11 *a*, Berachoth 16 *b*.

[4] Aboth i. 10.

[5] Ibid. ii. 2, &c.

"It is good to combine the study of the Law with some trade, for the earnest following of both callings weans from sin; but all study, unaccompanied by labour with the hands, ends in vanity and brings forth sin." Judah the Holy, the editor of the Mischna, who was also a member of this family, in which the dignity of Patriarch remained hereditary for centuries, called Rabbi Joseph Ben-Meschullam and Rabbi Simeon Ben-Manasseh, possibly in allusion to the Essenes, the Holy Order, because they spent a third of the day in study, a third in prayer, and a third at a handicraft. The word of Solomon the Preacher, "Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest" (Eccles. ix. 9), he explained, in the allegorical manner of his time: "Choose some branch of industry, beside the *Thora*, to the loving study of which you have dedicated your life."[1] Not only were learning and the practice of charity[2] regarded as a consistent, nay an inseparable pair, not only an honest calling and prayer,[3] but study and handicraft, science and trade, brainwork and handwork.

For this reason distinguished rabbis carried their seats on their own shoulders to the schoolhouse, for hard physical labour[4] was an honour. One Pinehas was at work at his trade of stonemason (*sattâth*) when the news was brought him that he was chosen high-priest.[5] Rabbi Joseph turned a mill, Rabbi Schescheth carried logs, extolling a labour that brought sweat to his brow,[6] and over a hundred rabbis mentioned in the Talmud were artisans, and owed their surnames to their trades. We made the acquaintance of the two shoemakers, Rabbi Oschaja and Rabbi Chanina, in an earlier lecture. At least three rabbis—Abba, Chanan, and Judah—are tailors (*chajjât*). Another Judah is a baker (*nechtôm*), and yet another a perfumer (*bassâm*). And so we find in this republic of letters not only a

[1] Midrasch Koheleth ix. 9.
[2] Aboda zara 17 *b*.
[3] Kidduschin iv. 13.
[4] Nedarim 49 *b*.
[5] Sifra ed. Malbim f. 192 *b*; the trade is also referred to Mezia 118 *b*. According to another tradition, Pinehas was called from ploughing.
[6] Gittin 67 *b*.

doctor, Theodos (Nazir 52 *a*); an astronomer, Samuel (Mezia 85 *b*); an architect, Abba Joseph (Midrasch Ex. xiii.); a surgeon, Abba (Taanith 21 *b*); a surveyor, Ada (Erubim 56 *b*); three clerks, Mëir (Gittin 67 *a*), Nahum, and Nathan (Peah c. ii.); a money-changer, Chana (Chullin 54 *b*); a gravedigger, Abba Schaul (Nidda 24 *b*), but also two fishers (*zajjâd*), Ada and Jose; a pudding maker, (*garsi*), Joshua; a woodcutter (*mafza kêsin*), Chanina; a currier (*schallâch*), Jose; a stovebuilder (*tannuraj*), Ami; a sandal-maker (*sandalar*), Jochanan; a smith (*nappâch*), Isaac; an embroiderer (*pikkôli*), Simeon; a potter (*kaddâr*), Nehemiah; a fuller (*cobês*), Abba Oschaja; a carpenter (*naggâr*), Abin; a threadmaker (*schezûri*), Simeon. One of the most distinguished teachers, Rabbi Joshua ben Chananja, was a pinmaker or tinman (*pechâmi*).[1] When once he had gone into retirement, on account of an injury done to him, Rabbi Gamaliel offered his services to appease him. As he entered the house his eyes fell on the grimy walls, and with a touch of scorn he said: "One can tell by the very walls of thine house that thou art a pinmaker!" Joshua answered this careless speech of the descendant of a rich and noble family with the humiliating reply: "Woe to the race whose prop thou art! Thou knowest not the struggles of the learned, nor how they keep themselves and earn their bread."—"I am rebuked," answered Gamaliel; "forgive me!" But Rabbi Joshua paid no further attention to him till he begged him, for the honour of his house (to which the nation owed so much), to forgive him.[2] Another great teacher who lived in self-inflicted poverty was Judah bar-Illai, a cooper by trade,[3] of the Galilean village of Uscha; he carried the cask on which he used to sit when teaching, on his own shoulders to the schoolhouse.

[1] In order to limit the number of quotations we have omitted them from the two fishermen onwards. Ada the fisher is mentioned in Moëd katan 11 *a*, and Jose the fisher in J. Berachoth iv. 3.

[2] Berachoth 28 *a*.

[3] Jost's *Geschichte des Judenthumes und seiner Secten*, ii. 86.

In those days there were no teachers with fixed salaries. Even in Rome the Emperor Vespasian was the first to grant a yearly sum for the salaries of Greek and Roman teachers.[1] No Jewish source mentions that the scholars paid their teachers any definite sum for instruction. The learned, or the pupils of the wise (*talmîde chakamîn*) as they were called, depended on the spontaneous generosity of their scholars and the parents of their scholars, on a share of the tithe for the poor, and, in certain cases, on support from the Temple treasury.[2] They could not earn anything by literary work, for while Rome was full of booksellers, in Palestine there was as yet no trade in books, and the written codification of the so-called oral or traditional Law was, till the second century after Christ, held to be wrong. So it was no wonder that it should be held most advisable to combine some remunerative trade with the study of the Law. But this combination was not regarded as a necessary evil only, labour in the sweat of his brow was recognised as an irreplaceable blessing for a man, a wholesome moral discipline. And this combination was possible, since learning consisted less in reading than in listening, and the sum of knowledge was not so manifold and various as nowadays. The study of classical languages, for instance, did not exist. These were learned, not from books, but only so far as intercourse with Greeks and Romans made it necessary or possible to learn them.

It was therefore quite in accordance with the customs of his time, when Saul of Tarsus in Cilicia had learned a trade, although he chose learning as his profession, and came to Jerusalem, the natural centre of learning, on this account. Like Aquila of Pontus, whose acquaintance he made in Corinth, he was a tent-maker;[3] that is, he not only cut out tents, but made the cloth for them. Tarsus

[1] W. Adolf Schmid, *Geschichte der Denk- und Glaubensfreiheit*, p. 443.
[2] Herzfeld's "History," iii. 266 *f.*
[3] Acts xviii. 3.

was situated in a fruitful plain watered by the Kydnos and suitable for breeding sheep; Cilician wool was one of the materials most sought after for the manufacture of the cloth used for tent hangings. To this day the tents used by the nomadic Arabs are mostly made of cloth of goat's hair. Some such cloth, or perhaps linen (for we cannot speak positively on the subject), Saul had probably been taught to make by his father, who would be of the same trade; for generally a son followed the calling of his father.[1] But Saul's father, a pious Israelite and a Pharisee,[2] did not wish his son, whose talents and desire to learn raised great hopes, to confine himself to a trade. Tarsus was a town well provided with means of culture, which surpassed even Athens and Alexandria in its zealous pursuit of philosophy and all sciences.[3] But the place *par excellence* for a Jew to study in was Jerusalem, the city of the Temple and of the great schools of Hillel and Schammai. Saul was not quite a stranger in Jerusalem, for his married sister, whose son later on once saved the Apostle of Jesus Christ from Jewish assassins,[4] had settled there. It was therefore the more natural and the more easy for his parents to send their son to Jerusalem. Here, in the Holy City, he was trained, as he himself tells us,[5] and at the feet of Gamaliel taught, according to the perfect manner, the Law of his fathers. Perhaps he is the intentionally anonymous scholar of the Rabbi Gamaliel, grandson of Hillel, whom the Talmud introduces to us as discussing with his teacher the signs of the Messianic epoch.[6] During these years of student life, the handicraft, which he had probably chosen and learnt in Tarsus, would be neglected. But when he was an apostle he took it up again, and it did him invaluable service.

[1] Erachin 16 *b*; *cf.* J. Kidduschin 31 *b*. [2] Acts xxiii. 6.
[3] Strabo xiv. 5, 13. [4] Acts xxiii. 16. [5] Acts xxii. 3.
[6] Schabbath 30 *b*; *cf.* Bloch's *Ursprung und Entstehungszeit des Buches Koheleth* (1872), p. 86 *ff.*

We return to Him with whose name we began our first lecture, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, the Beginning and the End; let Him be the beginning and the end of these pages. Jesus was the lawful son of a carpenter, entering miraculously into the married life of Joseph and Mary. He is Himself called, in Mark vi. 3, "the carpenter" (ὁ τέκτων), although quite early the reading of Matthew xiii. 55, "the carpenter's son," was preferred, and Origen, choosing this reading, questions in his work controverting Celsus,[1] the opponent of Christianity, whether Jesus is called the carpenter in the canonical gospels. But despite the flippant ridicule to which this may nowadays tempt ignorant free-thinkers, we will leave Mark's text unchanged. For we have seen in what high honour handicraft stood in those days and what harmony existed between it and learning. Over the thirty years which preceded the entrance of Jesus into public life a veil is drawn, and only raised by the story of a pilgrimage made by the twelve-year-old boy with his parents to Jerusalem.[2] The apocryphal gospels contain more, and tell all sorts of strange tales about Christ's share in His father's carpentry;[3] but these stories, even when regarded as poetic inventions, are so rude, so senseless and foolish, that it would be almost a sin to burden your minds with such caricatures. Nor can we approve when the Moravians, although they have rightly rejected many of Zinzendorf's hymns that mention Jesus the Carpenter in an objectionable manner, retain in their Litany not only the phrase: "May the precious sweat of Thy labour lighten our toil!" but also, "May Thy faithfulness in Thy handicraft make us faithful in our share of labour!" The Church of Christ should, in the language of her Divine service, keep closely to the word of God, which says nothing about the faithfulness of Jesus in His handicraft. But it is certainly more than probable that

[1] c. Celsum vi. 36. [2] Luke ii. 42.
[3] See Rudolf Hofmann's *Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen*, 1851.

He who came down from Heaven, and took upon Him our flesh and blood, becoming like unto us in all things save in sin, submitting to the laws and customs of His people, was not only obedient as a child to His mother, but also a willing helper in His father's work. It is by no mere accident that He performed His first miracle at a wedding feast, nor can it be an accident that He was born not into the family of a smith, who forges the murderous weapons of war, but into the family of a carpenter, where He who wished to bring peace to the world and sanctify the beginning and end of human life helped to fashion cradles and coffins and the peaceable implements of agriculture[1] and the home.

But just as Pinehas could no longer remain a stonemason when he became high-priest, the professional activity of Jesus after these thirty years of quiet excluded the possibility of His continuing a handicraft. It is impossible to think of Him, as we hear of Schammai in the Talmud, with a carpenter's measure in His hand. The work of His Divine calling, which was directed to founding for His nation and for the whole human race a new reason for living and a new form of life, concentrated during the last three years into such a prodigy of inner and outer labour, that after the struggles and prayers, the teaching and healing that claimed all His power, no place was left for any occupation which did not directly belong to His work as a Saviour.[2] Zeal for the cause of God consumed His life during these three years. The sweat of His brow was changed to the bloody sweat that fell from Him on Gethsemane. His passion no less than His deeds was a hard and decisive labour. His soul was the workshop of a new world, the birthplace of a new humanity. For this reason He accepted His earthly sustenance during these three years at the hands of believing love,[3] and whatever remained over, after providing the barest necessities, was

[1] Justin, *dial cum Tryphone*, c. 88. [2] Schabbath 31 *a*.
[3] Matthew xx. 8, &c.

sent, by the hands of the apostles, to the poor, beloved of their Master.[1]

But this honour remains to handicraft, that the Saviour of mankind came of an artisan family. The first king of Israel was called from the plough, the second from his flocks, and the Messiah, another David, from the carpenter's shop. Well for all those who offer humble praise, instead of mocking censure, to the eternal counsel made manifest in earthly forms! When Julian the Apostate undertook the campaign against the Persians which cost him his life, he threatened, as soon as he had finished the war, to punish the Christians, whom he said the Carpenter's Son would not be able to protect. One of the priests of Antioch replied: "This Carpenter's Son is making a coffin for thy dead body."[2] For His true followers, something better has been built of the wood of His cross and cemented with the mortar of His blood. Let us see to it that we are received into the city of peace beyond the grave that God has built through Him.

[1] John xiii. 29.
[2] Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.*, vi. 2 *cf.* Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.*, iii. 18.

THE END

APPENDIX

The brief encyclopædic information which follows may be of use to readers of Professor Delitzsch's book.

I.—BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following books will interest students of Biblical Topography, Antiquities and Social Life.

A. W. Kinglake's *Eothen.*
E. B. S. Warburton's *The Crescent and the Cross.*

These two books contain vivid descriptions of Eastern travel. Editions will be issued in the Unit Library uniform with this book.

Dr. J. L. Porter's *Giant Cities of Bashan* and *Syria's Holy Places.*
Dean Stanley's *The Bible and the Holy Land.*
Rev. W. M. Thomson's *The Land and the Book* (Manners and Customs, &c.).
Prof. J. Hayter Lewis's *The Holy Places of Jerusalem.*
Dr. J. Stainer's *The Music of the Bible.*
Prof. J. H. Balfour's *The Plants of the Bible.*
Canon H. B. Tristram's *Natural History of the Bible.*
H. A. Harper's *The Bible and Modern Discoveries.*
Mrs. Oliphant's *Jerusalem: its History and Hope.*
Prof. A. H. Sayce's *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians.*
Dr. Arch. Henderson's *Palestine: its Historical Geography.*
Prof. A. H. Sayce's *The Races of the Old Testament.*
Mrs. H. L. Palmer's *Home Life in the Bible.*

APPENDIX

II.—COINS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

(i.) Hebrew Values

		£	s.	d.
Gerah = $\frac{1}{20}$ of a shekel	=	0	0	$1\frac{3}{8}$
Bekah = $\frac{1}{2}$,,	=	0	1	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Shekel	=	0	2	$4\frac{1}{4}$
Maneh = 60 shekels	=	7	1	5
Talent = 3000 shekels	=	353	11	10

(ii.) Roman Coins

'Mite'	=	0·75 of a farthing
'Farthing'	=	1 farthing and a half, approximately.
'Penny' (denarius)	=	$7\frac{1}{6}$d.
'Pound' (mina)	=	£3 2 6

(iii.) Measures of Length were usually based upon parts of the human body, *e.g.* the cubit, or forearm from the elbow to the end of the third finger, or, approximately, 22 inches. A Span = $7\frac{1}{4}$–11 inches. A Hand's Breadth (1 Kings vii. 26 ; Exod. xxv. 25) = $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. A Finger's Breadth = $\frac{1}{10}$ of an inch. The Reed or Rod (Ezek. xli. 8 ; Apoc. xxi. 15) = 6 cubits. The Stadium = $\frac{1}{10}$ of the mile = 400 cubits. The Mile = 4000 cubits. The Parasang = 3 miles, or approximately 4 English miles and 600 feet.

(iv.) Measures of Capacity

The relations of the lesser measures to the greatest, Homer (= $75\frac{1}{2}$ gal. approx.), will be seen from the following table :—

Homer	1						
Ephah and Bath	10	1					
Seah	30	3	1				
Hin	60	6	2	1			
Gomer	100	10	$3\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$	1		
Cab	180	18	6	3	$1\frac{4}{5}$	1	
Log	720	72	24	12	$7\frac{1}{5}$	4	1
		66					

APPENDIX

III.—A LIST OF DATES

B.C.

64 Conquest of Syria by the Romans.

63 Jerusalem taken by Pompey, who makes the Jews pay tribute to Rome.

55–4 Cæsar's Invasions of Britain.

49 Herod, the son of Antipas, proclaimed King of Judea by the Romans.

44 Death of Cæsar.

c. 38 Herod besieges and takes Jerusalem and enters upon his kingdom.

c. 30 Hillel, the celebrated Jewish teacher, of poor Babylonian birth but of the house of David in the female line, came to Palestine in his fortieth year, and was about this time elected President of the Sanhedrim. He was one of the most learned and humble of men. He died A.D. 10.

28–27 The Roman Empire. The title of Augustus taken by Cæsar Octavianus.

18 Herod begins to rebuild the Temple.

4 Birth of Christ.

3 Death of Herod.

A.D.

14 Tiberius Emperor.
Caiaphas appointed high priest of the Jews.

26 Pontius Pilate created procurator of Judea.

33 The Crucifixion.

34 Persecution of the Church in Jerusalem. Stephen.

35 Conversion of Paul.

37 Caligula Emperor.

APPENDIX

A.D.

41 Claudius Emperor.
The title of Christian first applied to the followers of Jesus at Antioch.

54 Nero Emperor.
The ministry of Paul, who preaches at Athens concerning the hitherto "Unknown God." SS. Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome under Nero towards the close of that emperor's reign.

68–9 Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Emperors.

70 Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Above a million Jews perished and about 100,000 were taken prisoners.

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